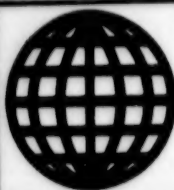


JPRS-NEA-89-077
7 DECEMBER 1989



**FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE**

JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-89-077

CONTENTS

7 DECEMBER 1989

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Changes in Soviet Press Treatment of Israel Viewed [Tel Aviv DAVAR 12 Sep]	1
Iran, Syria Allegedly Vie for Influence in Lebanon [London AL-DUSTUR 16 Oct]	1
Iranian Defector Reportedly Tells Turks of Spy Activities [London AL-DUSTUR 30 Oct]	4

ISLAMIC AFFAIRS

Writer Calls for Unifying Islamic Movements Against Israel [Cairo AL-SHA'B 24 Oct]	5
--	---

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

'Proclamation' Calls for 'Autonomy' [Paris HARATCH 5-13 Oct]	7
--	---

NEAR EAST

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Iran's Mohtashemi Reported Spurned by Lebanese Hizballah [London AL-DUSTUR 13 Nov]	15
Iran Reportedly Denies Second Lebanese Amal Oil Shipment [London AL-DUSTUR 13 Nov]	15
GCC Reportedly Feels Economic Threat From EEC [London AL-MAJALLAH 3 Oct]	15
Apparatus To Guarantee, Finance GCC Exports Proposed [Doha AL-RAYAH 14 Sep]	17
Factors With Negative Impact on Arab Exports Outlined [Doha AL-RAYAH 20 Sep]	18
UAE Trade Surplus With GCC Reported [Doha AL-RAYAH 23 Sep]	20
Arab States Reportedly Promote Science, Technology [Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR 20 Sep]	20
Syrian Agricultural Engineer Visits Egypt, Prepares Conference [London AL-HAWADITH 17 Nov]	23
Report Blames Israel for Low Tomato Harvest [Cairo AL-AHRAR 6 Nov]	23

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Plans for Government-in-Exile Established [Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ 29 Nov]	23
Syrian Imprisonment of Palestinian Fighters Discussed [London AL-DUSTUR 16 Oct]	23
Palestinian Union Funded To Build Centers [London AL-DUSTUR 13 Nov]	25
AL-MAJALLAH Tours Gaza Strip [London AL-MAJALLAH 10 Oct]	26
AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI Analyzes Syrian-Palestinian Relations [London AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI 23 Sep]	29

EGYPT

Butrus Ghali on African Issues, Recent Meetings [AKHIR SA'AH 18 Oct]	31
Opposition Meeting Encourages Unified Front [AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI 23 Oct]	32
Nasirist Party Issues Statement on Rights Abuse [AL-AHALI 18 Oct]	34
Scholars Claim Research Institutes Ineffective [AL-WAFD 1 Nov]	35
Shoe Exports Decline Due to Shoddy Standards [AL-JUMHURIYAH 13 Oct]	36
Lake Nasser Seismic Activity Reported as Related to Low Water [AKHIR SA'AH 25 Oct]	38
Columnist Disputes Democratic Progress Under Mubarak [AL-SHA'B 17 Oct]	38
AL-WAFD Calls for Constitutional Reform, Popular Rule [AL-WAFD 26 Oct]	40
AL-SHA'B Samples Supply Ministry Price Increases [AL-SHA'B 21 Nov]	41
Columnist Compares Zaki Badr to 'Abd-al-Nasir Minister [AL-WAFD 25 Oct]	41

ISRAEL

Shamir's Plan To Settle Refugees 'Hypocritical' [AL-HAMISHMAR 10 Sep]	41
Possible Pro-Syrian Apparatus Appears in Territories [AL HAMISHMAR 17 Nov]	42
PFLP Attacks Against Israelis in Cairo Planned [YEDI'OT AHARONOT 15 Nov]	43
Killings of Collaborators Continue at Qetziot Jail [HA'ARETZ 8 Sep]	43
IDF Aid to SLA for Coming Year Estimated [AL HAMISHMAR 9 Nov]	45
IDF Gives Intifadah Statistics [Tel Aviv AL HAMISHMAR 14 Nov]	45
New Outposts Set Up Along West Bank Roads [AL HAMISHMAR 27 Nov]	45
Two More Settler Companies To Be Mobilized [AL HAMISHMAR 17 Nov]	45
Hamas Said Growing Stronger in Gaza [HA'ARETZ 30 Nov]	45
Increase in Arabs Moving to Tel Aviv Reported [DAVAR 29 Nov]	45
Research Statistics for 1989 Given [HA'ARETZ 22 Nov]	46
Statistics for New Immigrants Given [MA'ARIV 9 Nov]	46
Commentator Questions Wisdom of Arab Expulsions [HA'ARETZ 8 Sep]	46
Druze Accuse Israel of Discrimination in Education [HA'ARETZ 6 Sep]	47

JORDAN

Crown Prince Hasan Profiled [Tel Aviv MA'ARIV 22 Sep]	49
---	----

SUDAN

Editorial on Coopting Youth Loyalty to Government [AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAHAH 17 Aug]	50
Editorial Cites Benefits of Newly Formed Local Committees [AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAHAH 17 Aug]	51

SOUTH ASIA

BANGLADESH

Shanti Bahini Regional Commander Surrenders [THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER 26 Sep]	53
--	----

INDIA

Indian Banking Accord; Secrets Act Discussed [Port Louis THE SUN 12 Oct]	53
--	----

IRAN

Soviets Help Dig First Oil Well in Caspian [London KEYHAN 21 Sep]	54
New Law-Enforcement Agency To Be Created [London KEYHAN 5 Oct]	54
Protocol Signed To Import Electricity From Turkey [London KEYHAN 26 Oct]	54
Paper Reports Regime's 'Failure' in Education [London KEYHAN 12 Oct]	55
Ship Building, Derrick Assembly To Be Established in Caspian [London KEYHAN 5 Oct]	56

PAKISTAN

Government and Opposition Vie for Power [JANG 15 Sep]	56
JI Leader Interviewed on Situation in Pakistan [Cairo AL-'ITISAM Oct]	57
Sindh Separatism Viewed	59
Administration Urged To Take Action [NAWA-I-WAQT 13 Oct]	59
'Sindhu Dosh' Demand Said Hollow [NAWA-I-WAQT 13 Oct]	59
Intellectual Discusses Standard of Living, Illiteracy [JANG 6 Oct]	60
Leftist Ideology Reexamined [VIEWPOINT 12 Oct]	62
Violence in Institutions of Higher Education Analyzed [JASARAT 27 Oct]	63
Report Examines Alleged Police Brutality [VIEWPOINT 5 Oct]	67
Report Describes G.M. Syed's Arrest [NAWA-I-WAQT 14 Oct]	72
Press Protection Sought Against Partisan Raids [VIEWPOINT 26 Oct]	73
Commentary Views Role of Sindh-Based Parties [AMN 19 Sep]	73

Changes in Soviet Press Treatment of Israel Viewed

44230015A Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 12 Sep 89 p 5

[Article by Yoram Levi: "The Image Changes"]

[Excerpt] The report on Israel shown on Soviet television indicates a change in Israel's image in the Soviet media. Dr Stefani Hofman of the Center for USSR and Eastern European Research at the Hebrew University recently published the findings of a study on the view of Israel and Zionism in the media in the USSR. The findings show a change for the better in the Soviet media's treatment of Israel, although the picture presented is still not objective.

Dr Hofman studies Soviet newspapers dating from 1983 and publishes a monthly bulletin, THE USSR AND THE MIDDLE EAST, with quotes from Soviet newspapers regarding the region. The bulletin is sent to various institutions throughout the world, among them the State Department.

Dr Hofman's study is based on a review of 15 daily newspapers and weeklies published in Moscow and the Soviet republics in 1988. Among the newspapers: PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, TRUD, SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA, and others. Dr Hofman concluded that the publications have been influenced by the interests of Soviet policy. In her opinion, the Soviet media softened its line toward Israel because the Soviets want Israel to adopt a more flexible position and to agree to participate in an international conference with the USSR. The new line also conforms to the trend of compromise between the USSR and the United States.

According to Hofman, the first sign of change could be seen at the conference held in France 4 years ago where Gorbachev said that there was room for normalizing relations with Israel, without attaching the usual epithets concerning Israel's aggression, as in the past. Two years later, at a dinner held in Moscow to honor Syrian President al-Asad, Gorbachev said that the absence of diplomatic relations with Israel was not normal.

Dr Hofman compared the coverage of the Lebanese war in Soviet newspapers with the coverage of the intifadah. She found that the coverage of the intifadah was more moderate than that of the war in Lebanon. During the war in Lebanon, Israel was compared to the Nazis, words like "pogrom" and "genocide" were used, the suffering of civilians in the war was emphasized, and the articles brought out details that would not be acceptable in other reports.

Despite moderation, the Soviet media still does not report on events that might negate the image of "Israel the Oppressor"—they did not report, for example, on the murder of a soldier, Shlomi Kohen, in the Old City. The news agency TASS, did report on the death of Rachel Weis and her three children from a molotov cocktail

near Jericho, but only one newspaper, TRUD, carried the report. Dr Hofman claims that the USSR still sees itself as the patron of the Arabs and feels a need to demonstrate this in the press. Newspapers in the USSR tend to distinguish between the position of the Government of Israel and the position of the "people." Numerous articles are published on the opposition in Israel, to prove that large segments of the population oppose the government's position. The researcher also found that in the past, articles included a call for ostracizing Israel in the international arena, while now the authors of the articles point out that not only the Arabs in the territories, but Israel, too, can benefit from the solution of the problem in the territories. Today, they also mention the expanding informal contacts between Israel and the USSR, the exchange of consular delegations, and hints of renewed international relations between the two countries. Another change is the quoting of official Israeli sources, which was not the case in the past. [passage omitted]

Iran, Syria Allegedly Vie for Influence in Lebanon

900A0113A London AL-DUSTUR
in Arabic 16 Oct 89 pp 11-13

[Article by Dr 'Ali Nurizadeh: "Syrian-Iranian Cooperation in Lebanon: Who Is Toying With Whom"]

[Text] Who is toying with whom: Damascus or Tehran? And what is the future of the Syrian-Iranian alliance?

In this examination of the latest developments in the strategic alliance between the Syrian and Iranian regimes, Dr 'Ali Nurizadeh, an Iranian expert, tries to explore the reality and horizons of the relations between the two capitals.

Who Is Toying With Whom?

In Iran, there are many who are titled "Arabs" even though they have no connection with the Arabs, whether linguistically or ethnically. There is a popular joke circulated about these so-called "Arabs" in Iran. They are told that they are "Arabs" to the Persians and "Persians" to the Arabs. It now seems that the base has expanded to include those named Rafsanjani, Khomeini, Ardebili, Khalkhali, Yazdi, and Tabrizi. Thanks to the new administration in Iran, Rafsanjani's son has become more concerned with Lebanon's affairs than the Lebanese himself. Southern Sudan's problem has become the main preoccupation of Yazdi, a clergyman destined to assume the highest judiciary authority in Iran. Whoever follows the Iranian media and listens to the officials' talks and speeches is perhaps surprised by the "interest" the media show in the Arab issues. For example, on 4 September 1989, the Iranian press published the following headlines on its frontpages:

"Joint Lebanese-Palestinian Meeting in Tehran Discusses Developments in Lebanese Situation."

"Afghanistan Symposium in Tehran Attacks Saudi Arabia."

"Al-Ta'if Conference and Historical Responsibility."

"Egyptian Human Rights Organization Condemns Torture of Khomeyni's Children in Egypt!"

"Syria's Mufti Arrives in Tehran!"

"Islamic Jihad Movement: We Will Take Revenge on Officials for Execution of Kuwaitis in Saudi Arabia!"

"Officials in Charge of Iraqi POW Camps Hold Ninth Meeting."

"Lebanese Minister of Roads and Transport Meets Iranian Counterpart!"

"Lebanese Minister of Justice: We Will Take Advantage of Iran's Experiences to Impose Penal Code!"

"Pakistani Notable—Gholam Mahdi Jafari, Employee at Iranian Embassy in Pakistan—Calls for Pressuring Arab Countries That Support Iraq."

By examining these headlines, an observer realizes that the Iranian regime's failure to deal with the problems experienced by the Iranian society since the rise of the Islamic Republic is the main reason why the issues that concern the Iranian citizen are absent from the frontpages of the official press and why such issues are replaced by a bunch of false allegations and tales about the Arab countries. This is done to accomplish three things:

- First, to stress that the Islamic Republic is a major power and that it influences the course of developments in the region and in the world.
- Second, blackmail the Arab countries and intimidate their regimes with the objective of gaining political and financial privileges.
- Third, to conceal the secret relations existing between Tehran and Tel Aviv. Who would believe that the regime, which considers the Tripartite Committee consisting of Saudi Arabia, Algeria, and Morocco a subcommittee of the U.S. intelligence, and which accuses Palestinian revolution leader Yasir 'Arafat of working for the Mosad, the Israeli intelligence—who would believe that this regime has Israel's support and backing and that it receives weapons and military equipment from Israel every now and then?

But this game has now been exposed to the Iranian citizen who is more concerned with his daily bread and his weekly meat than with a visit by Ahmad Jibril to Tehran and with the sum Jibril charges to perpetrate a certain act, such as blowing up planes or assassinating opposition leaders, on behalf of the regime. As for the Arab countries, there are still those who, regrettably, believe Tehran's allegations.

However, the latest Tehran meetings, attended by a number of Palestinian and Lebanese figures and held

concurrently with the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies' meetings in al-Ta'if, have exposed anew and in an unprecedented manner the intentions of Tehran's rulers toward Lebanon and its people. Moreover, the Syrian regime's influential participation in these meetings and the role this regime's representatives played in pressuring some participants in the Tehran meetings to force them to attack the Arab solution to the Lebanese problem and to make threats on the lives of the Lebanese deputies in al-Ta'if if these deputies contributed to bringing success to the Tripartite Committee's plan—this participation and this role have compelled several Arab and international circles to reconsider their calculations. These circles, which had considered the publication of three lines of indirect criticism of Syria's role in Lebanon in the unofficial TEHRAN TIMES a significant indication of the deepening differences between Tehran and Damascus, were stunned last week when they saw the Syrian charge d'affaires in Tehran distribute the final statement of the Lebanese and Palestinian factions which met in Tehran last week. This is the statement which attacked the al-Ta'if meeting. The Syrian regime's representative had taken part in drafting this statement.

In view of the importance of the Tehran meeting, especially in exposing the role of the Syrian and Iranian regimes, we will try in this report to define the visible objectives Tehran and Damascus sought to achieve through the meeting and to examine the participants in the meeting and the results it produced.

Damascus Initiative

Before Nabih Birri visited Tehran for the first time in 8 years to attend the 40-day anniversary of Khomeyni's death last August, Amal's leaders had met at Birri's home to discuss the latest developments in the Lebanese arena as a consequence of Khomeyni's death and to consider the expected change in the mentality of the regime's leaders in Lebanon toward the Shi'ites generally and toward Amal in particular. At that meeting, Birri told his colleagues that Damascus had been mediating between him and the Iranian authorities for a time and that he had received an official invitation from Rafsanjani to visit Tehran. According to AL-DUSTUR sources, a number of conferees at Birri's home, including 'Akif Haydar, expressed opposition to Birri's visit to Tehran and noted that Tehran's latest movements vis-a-vis Amal were not sincere. They said that had there been goodwill, the Iranian regime would have withdrawn its financial and military support for Hizballah and would have forced Hizballah's leaders to abandon their anti-Amal activities. Nabih Birri was also told that the respect he, as Amal chairman, enjoyed among the nationalist and pan-Arab circles inside and outside Lebanon emanated from these circles' belief in his independence from Tehran, from his faith in Lebanon's secular identity, and from his opposition to sectarianism. He was further told that if any rapprochement was achieved with Tehran at a time when the Arab Tripartite Committee was making its ceaseless efforts to bring Lebanon out of its current crisis, then this rapprochement would be achieved at the

expense of Amal's reputation and would lead to narrowing Amal's national role.

Despite these warnings, Nabih Birri did go to Tehran in compliance with the instructions of Damascus which determined that its role in Lebanon had become exposed to all parties, considering that whenever speaking of the circle obstructing the peace process in Lebanon, none of the parties concerned singled out Nabih Birri, Walid Junblatt or 'Isam al-Mahayiri. It is everybody's opinion that Damascus stirs others and makes its own moves whenever it realizes that the withdrawal of its forces from Lebanon is the main requirement of the entire peace plan. When an Arab party concerned with Lebanon's affairs notified the Syrian regime last July that its continued financial support for Damascus would depend on the flexibility Damascus displays toward the Arab plan to solve the Lebanese problem, Damascus decided to act as "Mr Clean" and to ask its sister, Tehran, to play the role of "Mr Dirty," especially since Tehran is always ready to play this role. The ruling mentality in Tehran is still the same mentality that speaks of Jerusalem only because the path to Jerusalem goes through Baghdad, Mecca, Cairo, and Amman. So Birri headed for Tehran, accompanied by representatives of the Progressive Socialist Party, the Syrian Social Nationalist Party, the Communist Party, the Nasirist Popular Organization of Sidon, the shaykhs of Hizballah, the Islamic Unification Movement, the Islamic Grouping, the Popular League, and by Ahmad Jibril and Abu-Musa. During the first meeting in Tehran last August, the Iranian regime failed in its efforts to get the support of some of its Lebanese guests for its plan to establish a quasi-nationalist Islamic government in one half of Lebanon and then to march to the Christian areas to liberate them, as Tehran alleges. Karim Muruwah, the Lebanese Communist Party representative who visited with Mikhail Bashkov, the political adviser of the Soviet Embassy in Tehran before expressing his opinion on the plan, heard from Bashkov harsh words to the effect that the Tehran meeting was no more than an exposed farce.

So the first meeting of the Lebanese notables in Tehran ended without accomplishing the Iranian regime's objectives. But its efforts were fruitful for Damascus. Through the conferees in Tehran, Damascus made it clear that the Arab Tripartite Committee's position on the Syrian presence in Lebanon is what forced it to strengthen its alliance with Tehran, and that if the Arabs leave Syria alone and isolated, it will be compelled to move much closer to Iran which opened its arms to Syria and its Lebanese and Palestinian allies.

Most observers agree that Syria's method has, at least to date, been effective in blackmailing the Arabs through Tehran.

The second meeting of the Lebanese and Palestinian notables in Tehran, held in the first week of September 1989 and prepared for by Damascus, also achieved certain objectives for Damascus. Again, the Iranian regime ended up being a toy in the Syrian regime's hands

and played a role incompatible with Iran's interests. Syria exploited this role to entrench its position in Lebanon.

What Took Place in Tehran?

According to an Iranian source, the second Tehran meeting was expected to be held last month. But Damascus requested its postponement twice on the pretext that Nabih Birri was preoccupied with the Tripartite Committee talks. Tehran welcomed postponement of the meeting because of circulated rumors about a scheme by the supporters of Mohtashemi, the ex-minister of interior, to assassinate Nabih Birri.

Ahmad Jibril, Abu-Musa, Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban, and Hizballah leaders Subhi al-Tufayli, Husayn al-Musawi, and 'Abbas al-Musawi headed for Tehran in the first week of last September to take part in the second meeting of the Lebanese and Palestinian notables which was scheduled for 26 September. But on the morning of the said day, the Syrian charge d'affaires contacted the Iranian Foreign Ministry to tell Velayati that Birri and Junblatt would not be able to attend because their presence in Damascus was essential at the time.

Thus, the meeting was postponed for a third time at the request of Damascus which wanted the Tehran meeting to coincide with the meeting of the Lebanese deputies in al-Ta'if.

It is worth noting that the second Tehran meeting was not as plenary as the first one because the Lebanese Communist Party, the Nasirist Popular Organization of Sidon, and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party refrained from attending it on the strength of recommendations they had received from Arab and international circles.

The Tehran meeting was held at the premises of the Iranian Foreign Ministry on 2 October 1989 and lasted 2 days. It was headed by Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati and attended by the minister's aides, Nabih Birri, Walid Junblatt, Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban, members of Hizballah's Revolutionary Council, Ahmad Jibril, Abu-Musa, and the Syrian charge d'affaires.

At the outset of the meeting, Velayati delivered an address on the current conditions in Palestine and Lebanon, saying in part: "The Iranian-Syrian cooperation with the Islamic and nationalist forces in Lebanon and Palestine has been fruitful and positive. We believe that continuation of the intifadah [uprising] to this day is one of the most significant results of the cooperation and coordination existing between us and our Syrian brothers!" Perhaps without realizing it, Velayati revealed how the Islamic Republic has turned into a toy in the Syrian regime's hands when he noted in his address the latest Damascus meetings which were attended by 21 Lebanese and Palestinian factions allied with Damascus and when he said: "We must discuss now how to implement what was agreed on in Damascus on confronting the imperialist and reactionary plots, led by the U.S. plot which is being implemented by the Arab Tripartite Committee!"

After 3 days of theatrical debate at the meetings hall of the Iranian Foreign Ministry, the Syrian charge d'affaires handed Iranian reporters the statement issued by the meeting which contained eight points, including the so-called "rejecting of the Maronite regime existing in Lebanon, of the Zionized military clique, and of the outcome of the al-Ta'if meeting, denouncing the PLO and Yasir 'Arafat, its leader, and accusing him of capitulating to the will of the United States and Israel, attacking Iraq, and stressing the need to change the regime in Lebanon."

Thus ended the second meeting of the Lebanese and Palestinian notables in Tehran. While the Syrian regime has begun to reap the fruits of its allies' meeting in Tehran, Tehran has received the first response from Lebanon itself to its hosting of the Lebanese and Palestinian notables' meeting and to its intervention in Lebanon's affairs.

This response was voiced during the press conference held by Faruq Abi-al-Lama', the Lebanese Foreign Ministry secretary general, who said: "The Persian intervention in Lebanon's affairs is rejected in form and content. Tehran's appeal to the Muslim deputies to refrain from voting for the election of a Maronite president is tantamount to flagrant intervention in Lebanon's affairs and is aimed at provoking sectarianism and inciting one faction against another."

As for the Tehran meeting's characterization of the Lebanese regime as the "Zionized clique," Abi-al-Lama' said: "I wish to ask the Iranian revolution where it got its weapons? Wasn't it from Israel?" He added: "I wish to remind Dr Velayati of this reality before he, the Persian who speaks no Arabic, starts lecturing us on Arabism."

Regardless of how potent Faruq Abi-al-Lama's deduction is regarding the ineligibility of the likes of Velayati

to talk about the Arab issues, the Iranian regime will continue to be Arab to the Persians and Persian to the Arabs, as long as this role continues to enjoy the Syrian regime's blessing. What is more important than this and that is the question: "Who is toying with the other, or rather, who is toying with both parties?"

Iranian Defector Reportedly Tells Turks of Spy Activities

90OA0113B London AL-DUSTUR
in Arabic 30 Oct 89 p 6

[Article: "Jurisconsult's Representative"]

[Text] Information available to AL-DUSTUR shows that the Turkish security authorities' expulsion 2 weeks ago of Hojatt ol-Eslam Saberi-Hamadani, the representative of the jurisconsult [velayat-e-faqih] and of the Iranian revolution leader who supervised the Iranian intelligence activities in Istanbul, is connected with the defection of Colonel Mohammad Reza Tabesh-Fard, the Iranian military attache in Ankara, to the west. According to AL-DUSTUR sources, Tabesh-Fard, who was acting director of military intelligence before going to Ankara, had informed the Turkish authorities of Saberi-Hamadani's activities and connections before going to Switzerland where he requested political asylum.

It is worth noting that Saberi-Hamadani, who was Montazeri's representative in Turkey before Montazeri was ousted, accompanied Khomeyni during the latter's exile in Turkey in 1963, and that he married a Turkish woman at the time. Despite his repeated visits to Turkey in the past 11 years, he assumed his official duties as Montazeri's representative and as imam of the Iranians' mosque in Istanbul only 5 years ago.

Writer Calls for Unifying Islamic Movements Against Israel

90OA0092A Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 24 Oct 89 p 6

[Editorial by Munir Shafiq: "Islam and Meeting the Conditions of Confrontation"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] A person on Islamic soil must not bargain over his beliefs, his principles, or his goals when conditions are not suitable and the balance of power is not in his favor. The most he can do in such a situation is to be courteously patient, work hard, and continue to toil so that God will decide the matter effectively. He cannot change from Islamic unity to regionalism without violating his beliefs. He cannot change his goal of fighting and eliminating Israel to a position granting Israel's right to exist, or a position in Israel's interest at the expense of rights without violating his beliefs. Right does not change when the balance of power changes. In the eyes of Islam, you have no less right if you are weak; you have no greater right if you are strong. [passage omitted]

If development requires economizing on expenditures, liberation from the consumer mentality, providing capital, and arduous efforts in agricultural, industrial, and construction production, it will not happen through an immediate renaissance, nor through plundering other peoples. It requires great sacrifices, perhaps for long periods. Nothing will persuade the nation but Islam. The people can accept hardships and toss away the consumer mentality when they trust that it is for God. However, they will not do it for what those who are westernized promise them in a divided state, even if it calls itself "progressive socialism."

The same is true for other subjects related to the challenges the nation faces: from war and confronting imperialist and Israeli force, to the question of division and unity, and ending with the scientific, technical, and cultural renaissance. In other words, our discussion so far is no more than settling the account with westernization, breaking with its failure and sterility on the one hand, starting on the right path by affirming that Islam alone can reawaken the nation and deal with the challenges confronting it. However, this does not mean that the current confusion has been solved and that we have clearly-defined Islamic answers on how to deal with the challenges now facing the nation on Islamic soil. [passage omitted]

The road is long and became much longer after the loss that the nation incurred a long time ago and because of the break in its history and social pattern following colonialist domination. The enemy also has military superiority, tremendous resources, abundant production, and advanced science and technology, while the people of Islam are fragmented as countries and parties. They penetrated the ranks of Islam with westernization in thought and lifestyle, and negative aspects have thrived therein because of long oppression, suppression, restriction, exile, and corruption.

Let us look at certain issues that require attention and action:

- From the preceding, one must not assume that there is only one way to answer these threats. The great complexity arising from the total fragmentation of the Islamic world and establishment of a divided westernized state requires deep thought and meticulous study for the fighters and the nation to know how to bring about change in the Islamic manner. This grave violence on the international level and on the part of Israel requires a precise plan to achieve successful confrontation solely through the use of slogans. This penetration by factional thinking and western cultural patterns in the life of Muslims and Islamic societies demands thought, reflection, and correct, well-planned methods for a comprehensive renaissance to eliminate them and replace them with Islamic thinking and cultural patterns in all aspects in the life of the nation. The matter is no different with regard to the continuing, expanding gulf between western progress in industry, agriculture, science, technology, and weaponry and the current situation brought about by the condition of the nation during the rule of westernization and the predominance of westernization programs in schools, universities, industry, agriculture, and commerce, and the preoccupation with technology and science.
- Choosing the path of Islam to change this situation requires dealing with several problems on the very soil of Islamic activity. How can all these movements be unified under one command? How can dissention be prevented so that the Muslims among them will not suffer? How can hearts that have borne disputes, hatred, and aggression appeal in harmony for Islam? How can we transcend this division and these countries, which are strangling us, unite the nation, and coordinate efforts without falling into factionalism and narrowmindedness? How can we make the Palestine issue the central issue, declaring holy war to liberate Palestine so that it will become a means to unify and rouse the nation? How can we make all efforts exerted for Islam, whether concentrated on spreading the appeal, on the Islamic revolution, on worship alone, or on holy war, integrate and interact positively, even if differences in diligence remain among them? In other words, the people of Islam must present an Islamic model to face this age and answer the important issues that challenge the nation, because this is the meaning of Islam in this age. In fact, they will decide the nature of Islam of this generation. If not, how will this generation understand Islam?
- We must give attention to the difference in roles, brought about by this division, that each country can play in overall Islamic activity. Some are centers of strength, others are small and oppressed, still others are somewhere in between. For this reason, there must be integration and coordination so that efforts will not be wasted in the wrong place and steps will not be taken at the wrong time. The paths,

methods, and concepts must not be far apart, or the separation and division will grow, instead of the gap's narrowing.

- The occupation of Palestine and establishment of the Zionist entity on its soil and the resultant problem of liberating Palestine constitute an issue which goes beyond Palestine and its people. With regard to the far-reaching struggle which the Arabs have waged against the nation [as published], it is at the heart of its plans [as published]. Accordingly, it will be dealt with in the far-reaching struggle the nation will wage at the heart of a plan for confrontation.

The existence of a holy war to liberate Palestine, or the lack of one, constitutes a reliable gauge to judge the type and true nature of the approach. On the one hand, this holy war is a lawful duty upon which there is a consensus. On the other hand, it is a path that will surely restore the unity of the Islamic nation under one leadership, since the Islamic army that fights the Israeli army until it achieves one of the two desired outcomes [martyrdom or victory] will find the entire nation behind it destroying the boundaries of this division and its idols, eliminating the proponents and creators of dissension, and bursting forth in a torrent—selflessly working to make the word of God supreme in Palestine and all its homelands.

'Proclamation' Calls for 'Autonomy'

46050003 Paris HARATCH in Armenian 5-13 Oct 89

["Proclamation" of the First Congress of the Armenian Intelligentsia issued in Yerevan on 9 September 1989]

[5 Oct 89 p 3]

[Text] As we reported at the time, the intelligentsia of Soviet Armenia held a congress in Yerevan's Sundukyan Theatre on 9 September and issued a "proclamation." We publish the text of that proclamation in installments.

Having survived numerous ordeals in its millenia-old history, the Armenian nation has stood twice in the course of the 20th century—once at its beginning and once near its end—at a fateful crossroads which demanded and demands its full dynamism and vigor, most importantly the cohesion and unity of its intelligentsia to formulate critical decisions on the survival and future of the nation and to cultivate well-studied and productive avenues of action.

At the turn of this century the Armenian people was drawn into World War I involuntarily and against its wishes. While the Armenians did not have a state and therefore the status of an official participant in the war, they nevertheless suffered deeply from the war losing the greatest number of victims in comparison to their population. Taking advantage of the war circumstances and with an eye to terminate the Armenian problem once and for all, the Young Turks and later the Kemalists and Musavatists perpetrated against the Armenians a genocide, which is recognized in international law as the most extreme crime against humanity.

But neither the genocide nor the mass deportation of Armenians from their millenia-old homeland, Western Armenia, nor the unfavorable and grave conditions that were created in Armenia following the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Caucasian front in the aftermath of the October revolution could stifle the freedom-loving spirit of our people which set to work to rebuild its lost statehood. The Armenian Republic that was proclaimed on 28 May 1918 had a brief and dramatic existence but it left a deep mark on the life of the Armenian people.

The change of regime and the establishment of the Soviet system in the Armenian Republic on 29 November 1920 did not dissipate the dramatic circumstances surrounding Armenia. Moreover, driven by the motivation to bring about world revolution by pitting the Muslim East against the Christian West, Moscow chose the political course of using the Kemalists against the Entente powers. That in turn led to criminal acts at the expense of Armenian territories and the historical rights of the Armenian people. On 16 March 1921, a treaty of "Russo-Turkish friendship and fraternity" was signed in Moscow without the participation of any representatives from the autonomous Soviet Armenian republic. With that treaty, which was signed behind the

back of the Armenian nation and in complete disregard for its wishes, Russia renounced its claims on "Turkish Armenia," joined hands with Kemalist Turkey to reject the Treaty of Sevres and ceded to Turkey the provinces of Kars and Ardahan. In addition, at Turkey's insistence Nakhichevan was turned over to Azerbaijan as an autonomous region. That action had momentous consequences for that genuinely Armenian territory because the Azeris systematically uprooted Armenians from Nakhichevan. The 16 March 1921 Russo-Turkish treaty violated one of the most basic and fundamental principles of international law. It violated the principle of a state's sovereignty by auctioning off part of the territory of a sovereign state, the Soviet Armenian Republic. That treaty must be reconsidered and must be declared illegitimate and void. The Treaty of Kars, signed on 13 October 1921, and the decisions of the Council of Ministers of the Nakhichevan Soviet Autonomous Republic to block the return of Nakhichevan Armenians to their homes (in particular its 1926 decision) must also be declared void. The principle of a state's sovereignty was also violated in the case of Nagorno-Karabakh when the Armenian-populated Artsakh, a part of historic Armenia, was illegally incorporated in the administrative structure of the Azerbaijani Soviet Republic by the 5 July 1921 decision of the Caucasian Bureau of the Russian Communist Party without soliciting the opinions of the local population, that is without a referendum.

[6 Oct 89 p 3]

[Text] Thus the Sovietization of Armenia not only failed to create the conditions necessary for the solution of the age-old national problem of the Armenian people, namely the Armenian Question, but it exacerbated and deepened the problem because it took new territories from the Armenian people and added them to the territories of Western Armenia that were already under Turkish occupation. These new territories were seized from Eastern Armenia and annexed to Russia at the beginning of the 19th century.

The Armenian intelligentsia finds that the problems of Karabakh and Nakhichevan, which were created as a result of the anti-Armenian policies of the central Soviet authorities in the early 1920's, are an inseparable part of the Armenian Question. The battle to resolve these two issues has been and remains a national liberation struggle. Therefore, the same legal, political and diplomatic demands and standards must be applied to these issues as those that apply to the Armenian problem taken as a whole, which became internationalized in the late 1870's. Consequently, the right of national self-determination must serve as a departure point in the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh issue. This right is a principal component of the nationalities program of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union]. It is recognized as an universal human right in international forums and has been recorded as such in paragraph 2 of Article 1 of the UN Charter—which also condemns the seizure of a nation's territories by genocide and armed

occupation because international law considers such territorial seizures as illegal and demands the return of seized territories to their legitimate owners.

Meanwhile, the fratricidal civil war in Armenia in the first year of Soviet rule, the deliberate disparagement of national interests as part of the mentality of class struggle, the Stalinist terror and the restrictions of the stagnation period not only did not permit the correct appraisal of the Armenian Republic as testimony of the rebirth of the Armenian nation and Armenian statehood, but also prevented national forces in the Motherland and the Diaspora from uniting to solve current and future national problems, in particular to pursue the Armenian Cause. From that standpoint, the Congress finds that the reinstatement of historical facts with regard to the Armenian Republic and the official recognition of the tricolor flag as a national symbol have created prospects for the unification of all the forces of the Armenian people to pursue progress and pannational goals.

The most pressing of those goals and the issue that looms before the Armenian people at present is the reunification of Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia, because the Armenian people could not and will not accept the decision to annex Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan by force. It expressed its rights over its historic territories even under the strenuous conditions of the Stalin and Brezhnev periods, perhaps not in the current popular movement form, but through occasional and isolated appeals. Therefore, the issue concerns not only the violation of the principle of national self-determination but also the division of Armenia through annexation and genocidal acts.

Even the partial social freedoms made possible by restructuring, democratization and openness were enough to ignite the freedom-loving spirit of the people of Karabakh to invoke the issue of reunifying NKAO [Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] with the Motherland resolutely and unambiguously. This movement took a constitutional form by the historic decision of the NKAO soviet on 20 February 1988. More than 1 and ½ years have passed since then. The negative stance of the central authorities from the outset toward the demands of the Armenians of NKAO and their characterization of the movement as an expression of nationalist and extremist sentiments by a small minority of the Armenian population of the region, in other words their futile attempt to silence this demand movement with political labeling methods borrowed from the Stalinist arsenal, not only blocked a just and constitutional resolution of the problem but also instigated the genocide of Armenians in Sumgait, which must be condemned in accordance with the UN's 9 December 1948 convention on "the prevention of the crime of genocide and its punishment" because the crimes committed by the perpetrators of genocide against the Armenians fully correspond to the acts enumerated in the first three paragraphs of Article 2 of the said convention. But at the instructions of government authorities the Sumgait genocide was from the outset considered as a string of

"murders committed for hooliganistic reasons." This charge was decided on before the investigations began and formed the basis of pre-trial proceedings, the hearings during the trial, and the sentences that were handed down. This is how one of the most singular phenomena in the practice of international law since the demise of the Inquisition unfolded.

The failure to correctly identify the Sumgait genocide inspired and encouraged the subsequent anti-Armenian riots in Khojalu, Kirovabad, Shamkhor, Mingechar, Nakhichevan and other locations. Moreover, Sumgait gave rise to the incidents of Fergana and Nor Uzen. The failure to assess the political implications of Sumgait correctly and the attempt to misinform the Soviet public resulted in an unjust change of attitude toward our people in many parts of the Union. This change of attitude has taken concrete form in the army where it has become common to beat Armenian soldiers, to cause them bodily injury and even to kill them.

The mass deportation of Armenians from Azerbaijani cities and villages began in early November last year. These deportations were accompanied by killings, rapes and looting. Such acts could not but provoke reprisals in Armenia. Azeris were deported but on a more limited scale and without rapes and lootings. The Sumgait genocide and the violent acts that followed it in other parts of Azerbaijan created among the peoples of our country wariness for the future and therefore centrifugal quests because no people can feel comfortable and safe in a country where genocidal acts have the potential of becoming the principal means of resolving interethnic problems (as evidenced by the examples Fergana and Nor Uzen).

[7-8 Oct 89 p 3]

[Text] Sumgait and the anti-Armenian violence that followed it in Azerbaijan naturally drove the two neighboring peoples further apart creating an explosive situation of armed confrontation between the two. This situation took concrete form in the blockade imposed by Azerbaijan around NKAO as well as the neighboring village of Gedashen and the Shahumyan region, the attacks on trains carrying passengers and goods to Armenia—as well as relief supplies for the reconstruction work in the earthquake zone—through Azerbaijan and the destruction and pillaging of their cargo. The Congress strongly deplores the recent appeal by the intelligentsia of Baku to the Azeri people, which constitutes an unveiled solicitation for interethnic war, because it calls for the mobilization of "all of its moral, political and physical resources" to end the Nagorno-Karabakh issue and "to restore Azerbaijani legal rights in NKAO." The direct response to this battle cry was the call by the so-called Azeri "Popular Front" to organize a "peaceful march" by 2 million Azeris into Nagorno-Karabakh. It is not hard to imagine that the influx of 2 million Armenian-hating fanatics into NKAO means a new Armenian genocide and a new, much more vicious Sumgait on a much more horrifying scale. The Congress demands

from the central authorities to take all possible measures to prevent the materialization of this monstrous plan which is reminiscent of the onslaught of semi-savage nomadic hordes and to severely punish its instigators and organizers as abettors of genocide. The Congress also points out that the Azeri Popular Front is exploiting the Karabakh problem to bring to fruition the separatist and pan-Turkist plan to detach Azerbaijan from the Soviet Union with the ultimate aim of annexing it to Turkey, also hoping that the threat to secede from the Soviet Union will force the central authorities to reject the just demands of the Armenians of NKAO.

In the circumstances that surround NKAO, the Azeri side is not only violating the internal laws of the Soviet Union but also the fundamental norms of international law. In particular, the blockade that the Azeri side has imposed on NKAO and Armenia is prohibited under the Kellogg-Briand Pact signed in Paris on 27 August 1928 when war was rejected as a means of policy for the first time in history; the "Declaration on the Principles of International Rights Regarding Friendly relations and Cooperation Between States on the basis of UN Charter," which the UN General Assembly passed on 24 October 1970; and the definition of "aggression" which the UN General Assembly endorsed on 14 December 1974 in which a blockade is considered "an act of aggression."

The Congress finds that in order to comply with the international obligations the Soviet Union has undertaken by signing the said agreements as well as the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 10 December 1948, the Final Document on European Security and Cooperation in Helsinki on 1 August 1975 and the "Summarizing Document" that in Vienna on 19 January 1989, the central authorities must take all necessary measures to restore rail traffic into and out of NKAO and over the Baku-Nakhichevan-Yerevan line and highway traffic between Armenia and NKAO without delay and to ensure security of life and property for Armenians in NKAO and Azerbaijan.

[10 Oct 89 p 3]

[Text] As a sovereign state, Soviet Armenia must have the right to establish, through its government, trade relations with neighboring Iran and to import natural gas and petroleum on a commercial basis from that country so that it does not remain helpless in the event of a blockade. The Congress also demands that the appropriate principles of international law be implemented in the resolution of the Karabakh problem, including the holding of a referendum in the oblast.

The First Congress of the Armenian Intelligentsia welcomes the decisions of the authorized representatives of the people of NKAO and the formation of the NKAO National Council as a creation of the resourceful revolutionary democracy of population of that region and demands from the Armenian Supreme Soviet to recognize at its next special sitting the NKAO National

Council as the sole fully authorized organ in Karabakh until the reinstatement of the oblast authorities. Given that the movement of the Armenian people of Nagorno-Karabakh is a national liberation movement and that the National Council is its sole fully authorized representative organ, the Armenian Supreme Soviet its appeals to the UN and its agencies must be given recognition. Those appeals must be considered as coming from the leadership of a national liberation movement and accorded the legitimacy provided by international law. We demand from the senior organs of Armenia's party and government to support with all possible means the NKAO National Council and its measures and appeals inside the country and on international forums.

The means of resolving the NKAO problem must not be sought in political labels, repression and threats "of likely consequences for people's lives" and new Sumgait as we commonly hear from the Azeri side and the central authorities who echo their views. Confrontation must be shunned in favor of a dialog between the representatives of the two peoples at all levels including meetings between most senior spiritual leaders. We are deeply convinced that the Karabakh problem can and must be solved by peaceful constitutional means on the basis of the universal and most democratic principle of self-determination which can only consolidate, not impair, goodneighborly relations between two neighboring peoples and which can open broad avenues of genuine friendship and cooperation between them.

The Congress condemns the repression and human rights violations that have been perpetrated in Armenia in the course of the past 1 and 1/2 years by civilian and military authorities—including the Zvartnots airport incident and other acts of violence. The Congress strongly protests the posture of the mass media which, with small exceptions, became and remain the mouthpieces of anti-Armenian propaganda—we believe at the instructions of their superiors—violating the principle of the impartiality of the press. Today they continue to distort the truth and to misinform the Soviet public on the NKAO and related developments with calculated interpretations. The Congress deeply deplores the posture of the Republic's Russian-language newspaper, KOMUNIST, and demands a review of its editorial staff and the dismissal of editor-in-chief B. Mkrtchyan without delay. The Congress demands the creation of a special commission by the military authorities to investigate instances of human rights violations in Armenia, because the Congress considers the declaration of martial law in the Republic illegal, unessential and an act of occupation with the purpose of repressing the Karabakh movement with force. We also condemn the decrees of the Presidium of the [Armenian] Supreme Soviet to ban mass rallies as antidemocratic and contrary to the principles of a law-governed state.

Nagorno Karabakh is not the only fateful issue that looms before the Armenian people as the century draws to a close. The general awakening of self-awareness of nations and nationalities that has begun in the Soviet

Union, the widespread quest for equality of rights and sovereignty, the radical reform of the entire economic system (from forms of property ownership to the mechanisms of economic administration) and the political superstructure and the imperative demand to create a law-governed state have created favorable conditions to achieve full economic and political autonomy [inknuryun] and sovereignty [inknishkhanutyun] in the Republic, which is the only way to turn Soviet Armenia into a highly developed and civilized state by the standards of our time. The Congress finds that this problem, which is complex and difficult, became infinitely more complex and difficult as a result of the natural disaster of 7 December 1988, the earthquake of unprecedented severity which claimed thousands of lives, turned several cities and villages into piles of rubble and left more than 1/2 million people homeless. Needless to say, the earthquake immensely exacerbated the Republic's already inadequate housing situation especially since the victims of the quake were joined more than 200,000 refugees from Azerbaijan who had barely escaped threats to their lives.

The Armenian intelligentsia and the entire Armenian nation is deeply grateful to all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union and all those foreign nations and organizations which came to the aid of disaster-stricken Armenia and which helped and continue to help us to mitigate the grave consequences of the earthquake and to rebuild and to revive the affected areas. The global assistance to disaster-stricken Armenia is not just a gesture of charity and compassion but also an expression of the sympathetic attitude of civilized humanity, partly brought on by the Karabakh problem, toward our people, its good reputation and its national aspirations and problems. That is a testimony of the recognition by humanity of our nation's irrefutable contributions to world civilization.

The Congress notes that the pace of reconstruction work, the level of its organization and the participation of the Republic's population, particularly the people of the disaster zone, in the reconstruction work are totally inadequate. We believe that the construction of summer resorts across the Republic which consume large quantities of building materials must be completely stopped and that the building material supplies must be channeled to the disaster zone to build individual homes for the victims of the disaster with the highest priority. At present, the Republic does not have a comprehensive reconstruction plan. It is already evident that the 2 years envisaged for the reconstruction effort is not realistic and that it was based on erroneous calculations. The Congress believes that special measures are essential to house the victims at least temporarily. To expedite construction work and to complete that work on time with the necessary measures, it is essential to create a special experts' committee to deal with issues related to the mitigation of the consequences of the earthquake. The efficient expenditure of the convertible currency that has been raised in foreign countries through government aid and private donations is specially important.

The Congress proposes the creation of a special commission made up of well-informed representatives from Armenia and the Diaspora who are closely involved with this issue and who can draft a comprehensive program to utilize the convertible funds more efficiently and fruitfully.

The appalling state of science and technology in the Republic is extremely intolerable and is a consequence of the general economic and government system.

[11 Oct 89 p 3]

[Text] We believe that in order to equip Armenia with the latest knowhow and technology, to establish strong coupling between science and industry and to increase the role of science in government and industry rapidly, it is essential to have full economic autonomy and to implement private versions of restructuring plans taking advantage of the special characteristics of the Republic. This autonomy must apply to the choice of forms, principles and conditions of property ownership and tenancy as well as taxation policy and must be based on the natural and climatic characteristics of Armenia—especially its lack of land, water and flat regions and the small size and fragmented form of its parcels of arable land which are mostly located on the foothills of mountains. The semi-devastated state of semi-mountainous and mountainous areas must also be taken into account. The number of abandoned villages located at relatively high altitudes exceeds 270. The Armenian SSR must have full autonomy in reorganizing its agricultural production in the future with particular emphasis on the family farm which is suitable for Armenia's conditions. The Republic must also be independent and autonomous in resolving its budgetary, autofinancing and revenue-raising problems. In selecting industrial branches and enterprises for the needs of the central government on a contractual basis, the Republic can accurately take into account only its real resources, its interests of survival and the prospects for greater profits which are essential for budgeting and autofinancing. Economic relations with other republics can only be built on the basis of that accounting principle and mutual interests. Equality of rights demands that every nation and nationality be the owner and manager of its national territory, its subterranean and superterranean resources as well as its industrial enterprises, buildings and other means of production. Therefore, the utilization of any of Armenia's territories or natural resources by Soviet Armenia, central authorities or other republics must have the unreserved consent of the Republic and must be based on the commercial principle of full-value compensation except in instances where general all-Union considerations are involved. Even in such instances, however, the Republic must have the right of veto if its survival or harm to its national interests is at issue.

Political relations between republics must be within the framework of relations between sovereign states. Armenia must have political and economic missions in other union republics to protect its interests. It must also

have consular services in republics where there are significant internal Diaspora settlements. The needs of the internal Diaspora and its ties with Armenia must be a constant source of concern: the Armenian education of Armenian children must be ensured; centers of national culture must be supported; national schools must be provided with the necessary texts; and the security of life and property of Armenians must be assured.

Relations between republics and the "center" must also be based on the principle of sovereignty. These relations must be conducted through legal formal instruments (such as notes, memoranda and declarations). We believe that it is essential to declare Armenia a free economic zone in order to ensure the extensive participation of foreign capital, particularly Armenian business circles in the Diaspora, in not only the reconstruction of industrial plants in the disaster zone but also the radical restructuring of the Republic's industrial knowhow and technological base.

The patriotic sentiments of Diaspora Armenians to contribute to their homeland must be accommodated more effectively. Representatives of Diaspora Armenians must be allowed to own movable and immovable property in Armenia, to lease land and buildings for economic activities, to form banks and to operate circulating capital, to form joint and nonjoint enterprises and to take advantage of certain privileges such as exemption from taxes for a certain period of time when their work involves advanced knowhow and technology or other industries that are of critical importance to the Republic. In view of the need to expedite the solution of the aforementioned problems and the dispersed and fragmented state of the Armenian people; realistically understanding that emigration from Armenia has serious socioeconomic, moral and political reasons; and given that Armenia is the homeland of all Armenians and all these measures help the preservation of Armenians in the Diaspora, dual citizenship must be allowed in Armenia. With special legislation Diaspora Armenians may be given the opportunity to take Soviet Armenian citizenship and, if they desire, USSR citizenship without losing the citizenship of the country where they live. Policies with regard to the Diaspora must be completely changed noting that every pannational movement is also a movement of the Diaspora. This applies also to the Armenian Pannational Movement [APM]. In view of that consideration, it is extremely important to create in the Diaspora a pannational front which will unite all political parties and public organization around national problems and goals. A national council uniting the intelligentsia of the Motherland and the Diaspora must also be formed. In relations between Armenia and the Diaspora special attention must be paid to economic ties.

It is essential to initiate in the Diaspora a movement for the purpose of returning the cultural treasures of the Armenian nation to Armenia and to prevent their export (also through emigrants) from Armenia. A law needs to be passed to provide the Republic with sole ownership

rights and oversight powers over antiquities and cultural treasures taken out of Armenia (for example, through donations and auctions).

[12 Oct 89 p 3]

[Text] The provision of the "Summarizing Document" that was signed by the Soviet Union in Vienna requiring the citizens of any country to choose their places of residence and to move freely in their own country as well as to travel abroad and to return to their country must be put into effect in Armenia by 1 January 1990. The same "Summarizing Document" mandates the abolition of [internal] passports which are currently required to have a residence and to obtain work. Therefore, all refugees must be given the necessary papers without delay. In order to solve the refugees' housing problems and given that they are mostly from cities and have worked in urban occupations, several urban-style settlements must be constructed. Urban construction must be enhanced in the remote areas of the Republic. In particular, Mekhri must be expanded, Goris must be turned into a major industrial and cultural center, and Khukasyan must be expanded in the northwest direction. The intelligentsia agrees to carry out the essential planning and estimation work on these proposed projects without compensation and to form work brigades composed of students, young researchers and university lecturers who will participate in the development of those cities.

The Congress finds that a radical restructuring of the economy requires the extensive implementation of a market economy, the freeing of industry from centralized and top-down administration and its return to the path of normal development. But given that the special characteristics of making a living and the danger of growing inflation in such circumstances, the government must reserve the right to freeze the prices of basic foodstuffs and consumer products and to implement a flexible policy on wages. The cooperative movement must be encouraged in every way and a effective battle must be waged against profiteering from it. The intellectual forum takes under its protection the scientific research and planning cooperatives and demands that the taxation rates imposed on them be reviewed because they are unfair. In this extremely important area, they are unfairly considered almost the same as commercial and service cooperatives.

The Congress believes that the battle against corruption, embezzlement and bribery is too lax and that the principal reason for that is, as in the past, the collusion between the workers of the justice system and organized crime. To correct this situation, the Congress demands that the cadres in those agencies be reviewed on a comprehensive basis and that this issue be broadly publicized. A relentless battle against corruption is of the utmost importance for the Armenian national character because the pannational problems that loom before it and the battle that is being waged to overcome them are incompatible with circumstances which tarnish the nation's reputation.

We demand full autonomy for Armenia on the issue of social justice, the establishment of a new and fair pension structure which will ensure normal and human living conditions for the elderly, the sick and the orphans. The Soviet system has from the outset implemented an arbitrary policy with regard to workers' wages on the basis of the unscientific presumption that in socialism labor is not a commodity and that, therefore, the laws of value are not applicable to it. The Congress demands the establishment of a wage policy which is based on scientific principles and the principle of fair value.

In the first days after the earthquake 160,000 to 170,000 Armenians, mostly children, left the Republic. As of now we have no accurate information about their numbers, or the number of the dead or the unaccounted. Given this situation, the Congress believes that the present system of voluntary search service must be replaced by a government service that utilizes all available technical and financial means to determine these figures as soon as possible and to help the return of departed earthquake victims to their homeland.

The Armenians of Javakhk, many of whom are sent to various parts of the Union for work, must be made to participate in the reconstruction effort. That step would help national cohesion, and, from an economic and financial standpoint, it would be more efficient to employ these workers than to import workers from outside. The number of such outside workers has already reached 120,000 and may increase. The villages in Armenia vacated by Azeris must be rapidly repopulated by Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan. Favorable and legal conditions must be created for these refugees, and given their urban backgrounds cooperatives and small crafts centers must be established.

The Congress of the Armenian Intelligentsia finds that one of the problems looming before the Armenian nation is the issue of the Republic's sovereignty which can be properly resolved only if Armenia is given full autonomy, within the framework of a Soviet federation, in its internal administration and in enacting an appropriate legal structure. We envisage, in the most general outlines, an autonomy within the framework of a radically reformed Soviet federalism as follows:

1. The supreme organ of Armenia's government must have the right to declare as void any decrees, legislation, decisions and arrangements by all-Union state and government bodies which it considers to be contrary to the Republic's survival and its economic, political and popular interests.

2. The extraconstitutional authority must be abolished. This authority is the privileged status of the party apparatus which at present stands above the other constitutional organs of administration, namely the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government, and which issues orders to them without any moral, material or financial accountability for its actions. The slogan "all

power to the soviets" cannot become a reality as long as the extraconstitutional and unchecked power of the party apparatus remains.

The Communist Party must be represented in all organs of the Republic's government as a political faction having equal rights with nonparty officials and their organizations. The party, its apparatus and its leaders must stop acting as the ruling and governing elements in the life of the Republic and must become elements of political and ideological work. This requires the abolishment of Article 6 of the USSR Constitution.

3. The electoral system must incorporate the following provisions which we consider inviolable:

a) The Supreme Soviet is a unicameral permanently empowered parliament.

b) Members of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet are elected concurrently by direct, equal, closed and secret balloting with strict adherence to the supreme democratic rule of one man one vote.

c) The President of the Republic is also elected by direct, equal, closed and secret balloting. The President is accountable only to his or her electors, namely the people.

d) Members of the Constitutional Oversight Commission are elected to office for life by the Congress of People's Deputies. The Commission's has oversight powers over all legislative organs to determine whether the laws and decisions they pass are compatible with the Constitution of the Armenian SSR.

e) The people have unlimited oversight powers during the entire process of elections.

f) Electoral commissions are elected from candidates proposed at meetings or conferences of collectives and enterprises.

We are deeply convinced that it is in the interests of popular democracy to resolve all issues of national importance through referenda.

There must be full freedom of religious affiliation, and the role of the Church in public relations, particularly in moral education, must be strengthened.

We demand full autonomy for Armenia in its economic, political diplomatic and cultural relations with the outside world. In that context, it must immediately undertake to send delegations to foreign countries, to establish relations with international organizations and to exercise its constitutional rights giving preference to countries where there are sizable Armenian communities and taking into account commercial and economic interests. Armenian mass media must have their own correspondents in major Diaspora centers.

[13 Oct 89 p 3]

[Text] To resolve these issues successfully we believe that it is essential to establish a school of international relations at the higher education level, possibly in the State University of Yerevan, with specialization in diplomacy, international law, journalism, foreign economic relations and management.

The Congress believes that Armenian must be the language of government and other official business in Armenia as required by its constitution. Persons who are not fluent in Armenian must not be employed in government or public agencies. The Armenian education of Armenian children must be assured by state law. Minorities in Armenia must have the right to be instructed in their own native tongues. The teaching of the Armenian language in non-Armenian schools must be mandatory. The government must support the Armenian language by all available means and contribute to its general and terminological development and enrichment so that it can keep pace with the demands of current scientific, technological and cultural developments.

In order to bridge the gap between Western and Eastern Armenian and to invigorate cultural ties with the Diaspora, a detailed public scrutiny must be initiated with regard to the restoration of the old spelling system, and a referendum must be held in Armenia and the Diaspora to take a final decision on this issue.

The Congress believes that Armenian young men conscripted to the armed forces must serve their tour of duty inside the Armenian SSR, initially to help the reconstruction work in the earthquake zone, but also because of the absence of any assurances for their security of life in various military units and because of self-defense needs in the complex situation that has been created in the region.

The Congress believes that all nationalities who live on Armenian SSR territories have the full right to have their cultural and national autonomy, to own their national schools, press organs and cultural institutions and to exercise their religious freedoms.

The First Congress of the Armenian Intelligentsia expresses its solidarity with all prodemocratic movements operating inside the Soviet Union and plans to establish a close relationship with them and to help them in the name of popular democracy in their struggle for national and social justice.

In its millenia-old history, the Armenian people has come to the conviction that it must place its hopes only on itself and its unity. However, it has a high regard for the struggle of repressed nations which are seeking self-determination and sees in them its natural allies and appeals to them to support the just struggle of the Armenian people.

The Congress also appeals to all nonofficial organizations in Armenia, to unite around and to cooperate on

pannational goals regardless of differences in their programs and to preserve their independence only in instances when they do not wish to join the APM as an integral part of it.

Unity is strength. This is our slogan.

Given these facts, the Congress of the Armenian Intelligentsia, which acts as a permanent body within the framework of the APM, sets the following tasks for itself:

1. To unite the intellectual forces of Soviet Armenia, the NKAO and the internal and overseas Diaspora for the realization of pannational ideals which have been fully and comprehensively enunciated by the APM.

2. To help the APM to formulate a balanced and scientific set of strategies and tactics to accomplish the goals and tasks it has set for itself. To organize the forces of the intelligentsia to implement these strategies and tactics.

3. To help the APM to prepare scientific and legally inassailable documents about the national problems and demands of the Armenian people, their international and political implications and their legitimacy in terms of international law; national, socioeconomic and political currents developing in the country; and related problems specific to Armenia.

To contribute to the theoretical and ideological foundations of and practical steps related to the establishment of Armenia's economic and political sovereignty. To participate vigorously in the professional evaluation of the economic, political and survival problems looming before the Republic.

4. To expose relentlessly attempts by Turkish, Azeri and other scientists to distort, to pillage and to expropriate Armenian history. To create a commission composed of prominent historians, political scientists, legal scholars and ethnologists for that purpose.

5. To participate in issues related to the historiological, civic and legal education of the Armenian people.

6. To create an editorial and publishing organ to publish an information bulletin in Armenian, Russian, English and French on various public programs and issues. Also to publish a newspaper in these languages.

7. To create a computerized data bank to store all information about the Karabakh problem and movement and all related issues.

8. To create a press center which will disseminate to the press and other mass media certified and verified information about the activities of Armenian intellectuals with regard to pannational problems.

9. To create a scientific center in Leninakan.

10. To compile and to publish a "White Book" about the Armenian Question and all related issues, facts and

documents, including the issues of Karabakh and Nakhichevan which form an integral part of that problem.

The First Congress of the Armenian Intelligentsia appeals to the Armenian people to rally all of its dynamism and vigor at a time of extraordinary tension in the region, when Nagorno-Karabakh is subjected to a blockade, the Armenian population of that region is faced with the real threat of genocide, calls are made to impose an economic blockade around Armenia and a state of undeclared war exists between Azerbaijan and Armenia and when the central authorities refuse to take any effective measures to stop the illegal and warlike activities and measures of Azerbaijan. At this critical hour, each Armenian must fortify his or her will, must be deeply aware of the seriousness of the situation, must know his or her responsibilities in the destiny of the nation and must be prepared to make every sacrifice for the survival of our nation and the realization of its aspirations.

We are a nation with roots going back thousands of years. We are a nation whose spirit has not been broken by either its history of ordeals or by holocausts or by forced migration.

We have existed, and we continue to exist. We are the bearers of our civilization, and we march as a dynamic, vigorous and lively ethnic entity in today's world. Our vigor and our will to survive remains an unsolved enigma for foreigners. Today, the terms "Armenia" and "Armenian" are heard frequently in all corners of the world. The entire civilized world sympathizes with our just cause, and that, together with our national vigor, unity and will for resolute and relentless battle, forms the assurance for our triumph.

Forward toward victory.

[Signed] First Congress of the Armenian Intelligentsia,
Yerevan, 9 September 1989.

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Iran's Mohtashemi Reported Spurned by Lebanese Hizballah

45000050 London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic
13 Nov 89 p 5

[From "Mawjah Qasirah" column]

[Text] Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Ali Akbar Mohtashemi, the former Iranian interior minister, visited Lebanon and Syria recently. He had decided to visit Ba'alabakk in the al-Biq'a Valley for an undetermined amount of time, but he received two warnings: one from Brigadier Ghazi Kan'an and the second from Ibrahim al-Amin, the official spokesman of Hizballah, that his presence in Lebanon was not wanted, and that his return to Tehran as quickly as possible would be in his best interest.

It is known that Mohtashemi, who is considered Hizballah's founder, went to Damascus under the cover of a visit to [the shrine of] al-Sayyidah Zaynab, and from there went to Ba'alabakk to visit his former comrades. However, they refused to meet with him, and Mohtashemi remained surrounded by Revolutionary Guard men at the Shaykh 'Abdallah barracks.

Iran Reportedly Denies Second Lebanese Amal Oil Shipment

45000049 London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic
13 Nov 89 p 3

[From "Bayn al-Qawsayn" column]

[Text] Tehran has refused to supply the Amal Movement with the second shipment of Iranian oil which it was to send the movement through the port of Banyas in Syria. AL-DUSTUR's sources affirm that Tehran is reconsidering its commitment to Amal, again indicating the Iranian regime's dissatisfaction with the head of the movement, Nabih Birri, after the al-Ta'if resolutions and the presidential elections in Lebanon.

GCC Reportedly Feels Economic Threat From EEC

90OL0084A London AL-MAJALLAH
in Arabic 3 Oct 89 pp 42-43

[Article: "Gulf Banking Circles Uneasy Over EEC Measures"]

[Text] A large number of experts are still reviewing the effects an open European Common Market will have as of 1992. This step is a source of world concern because of greater protectionist measures that will be imposed on this market and the enactment of preferential laws.

One sector that will be affected, perhaps negatively, by this major event is the GCC [Gulf Cooperation Council] banking sector that includes in its membership Saudi Arabia, Oman, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, the UAE

[United Arab Emirates], a significant financial center, and all other Arab countries in varying degrees.

A special report put out by a gulf financial institution and acquired by AL-MAJALLAH states that GCC countries, just like Europe's other trade partners, are concerned about the changes the European continent will witness after 1992.

The gulf banking sector doing business in the international market is also concerned about the effects this market will have on its activities in EEC countries after its establishment, or three years from now, compared with financial and banking institutions based in Europe. The existence of a unified European market will strengthen relations among European financial markets and will provide more banking and investment opportunities. Conversely, strict enforcement of certain market measures will reduce participation by foreign financial institutions in European markets.

The critical point the report makes is the possibility that the European banking and financial market will be closed to foreign institutions whose countries do not allow European institutions the freedom to operate on their land. This cannot be ruled out if the clause pertaining to reciprocity is enforced. This applies to a great extent to gulf banks. Added to the aforementioned perils of the new market is the fact that its establishment as a market open to all European financial institutions will heighten the competition among them, thus narrowing their margin of profit.

The Market From Within

By 1992 the EEC population will have grown to 320 million, and perhaps 350 million people if we add the population of the countries that form the European Free Trade League which includes Austria, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland. Hence, the European market will be larger than the American market (246 million people) and the Japanese market (122 million people). It is a definite fact, the report says, that a free market of such great magnitude will represent an active entity taking part in trade exchanges among the member countries to achieve high growth rates.

Past experience corroborates such expectations. Twenty years ago, Europe concluded the establishment of a customs federation when it cancelled the internal customs tariff and instituted a common external tariff on imports from outside the federation. Ever since its establishment in 1958, the federation has helped to raise the rates of trade exchanges among European countries from 37 percent to 58 percent in 1987.

Furthermore, the European Monetary System (EMS), established about 10 years ago, has helped to soften the impact of rates of exchange fluctuations in European currencies. All these measures in the sphere of European economic integration come at a time when Europe still embraces 12 small fragmented markets where the trade outflow suffers noncustoms barriers such as different

standards for industrial products, border crossing barriers, and other obstacles. Moreover, labor and capital do not have the freedom of movement between one European country and another. Therefore, the goal the EEC set for itself for 1992 is to establish a market similar to the American one whereby commodity trading, services, and labor and capital movement between these countries will be totally free as if it were within the borders of one country.

The effect of a unified European market on other non-member countries will vary from country to country according to its relationship with Europe. The steps aimed at establishing a common market in 1992 will bolster Europe's position as the largest unified trading bloc. On the one hand, the EEC is the biggest exporter and importer in the world, for it dominates a little over 25 percent of world trade and perhaps up to 40 percent, if internal trade between EEC member countries is to be included.

The impact of opening the market to nonmember countries will depend largely on trade and protectionist policies the market's commission will follow in the future, for trade expansion among member countries may tighten the restrictions imposed on the EEC's foreign trade. Moreover, the market is expected to afford special attention and additional protection to certain industries it considers sensitive, such as cars, textiles, petrochemicals, electronic industries, and others.

In talking about the market's effects on the financial field, the report pointed out that the establishment of a unified European market is expected to allow all credit institutions to offer their services in all member countries and to facilitate the opening of branches in them. The Roma Agreement, on the basis of which the market was formed, had allowed financial institutions to open branches and companies in all member countries without giving banks the freedom to market their services outside their own countries.

Principle of Reciprocity

The market's commission, however, rectified this deficiency in the bank circular issued January 1988 which set forth the concept of "one bank permit." This concept gave bank holding companies licensed to operate in any EEC country the freedom to operate in all member countries as of 1992, in accordance with rules observed in their original countries.

The report expects securities trading to be classified as a basic activity of commercial banks, and this is expected to heighten world competition among principal financial centers. It is believed that the competitive edge of the London market will double after 1992 when European borrowers or securities exporters, who are now turning to London for loan guarantees, find that their local markets operating under fewer restrictions can fulfill their needs just like the London market.

Likewise, non-European financial institutions that own companies in any of the 12 EEC countries will benefit from the establishment of a unified financial market after 1992. It has been noted that a large number of non-European institutions wishing to enter the market for the purpose of taking advantage of reciprocity and equal opportunity have been convinced of the importance of entering the market right now. Foreign companies have to meet two conditions before being allowed to operate in EEC countries.

First, the company's country must allow reciprocal treatment of all European institutions. Second, the company's headquarters, central management, and most of its operations must be based in an EEC country. In other words, gulf countries, for example, must allow any bank from any of the 12 European countries to open a branch upon request or else gulf banks will be subject to closure. This situation will be faced by other countries as well.

Current financial activity between GCC countries and EEC countries is strong. GCC countries keep most of their accounts with European banks and, in addition, own stock in European companies and institutions. Bank of England figures show that the bulk of gulf investments is concentrated in EEC countries, at a rate of 34.6 percent in 1988, compared to 12.8 percent for the United States, and about 18.1 percent for other industrialized countries, Japan and other Far Eastern countries in particular. Furthermore, the EEC share of gulf assets has risen markedly in the last 5 years, from 28.1 percent in 1983 to 34.6 percent in 1988, while the volume of these assets in the American market dropped from 21.1 percent to 12.8 percent for the same period. Gulf total assets in EEC countries in mid-1988 was estimated at about \$118.2 billion compared to \$86 billion in 1983.

The report said that it is hoped that gulf financial institutions based in EEC countries will benefit from the privileges that will be available after 1992, just like other European banks. Banks, especially those based in London, will be able to continue to provide loans to their big clients from other European countries, as is the case now.

But certain bank financial services, especially those related to the individual sector, subscription and investment services, fee-generating activities such as mergers, ownership and other investment services, may require that bank holding companies be based in the European countries.

The report did not hesitate to say that should EEC countries insist on the principle of reciprocity, and should they apply it in its entirety as a prerequisite for the freedom to operate in their financial markets, some GCC countries will have to reconsider rules and regulations pertaining to European institutions opening branches in area markets and participating in group subscription activities valued in foreign currencies and other banking activities.

The report concluded by saying that major gulf banks enjoy a strong presence in the London market, one of the most important European financial markets, and that the best opportunity available after 1992 will be in offering retail banking services and concentrating on small and medium companies that will have new export opportunities brought about by a unified European market.

Apparatus To Guarantee, Finance GCC Exports Proposed

900L0078A Doha AL-RAYAH in Arabic 14 Sep 89 p 5

[Article by al-'Azab al-Tayyib: "Report on Recent Gulf Industrial Cooperation and Coordination Meetings"]

[Text] Economic and industrial cooperation among GCC [Gulf Cooperation Council] countries has entered the realm of actual deed amid convictions governing joint gulf action based on the notion that development measures adopted at the Qatari level are futile, thus prompting GCC leaders to ratify the GCC unified industrial development strategy.

In this connection, industrial cooperation among GCC countries—according to a study conducted by the Gulf Industrial Investment Organization—represents a key link in economic integration, and is an effective tool for effecting desired development. It is aimed primarily at utilizing available opportunities for specialization, dividing work on the basis of available production elements, and testing the best location in member countries.

Industrial cooperation is known to be a continuous set of measures adopted by a group of countries and backed by the necessary institutions in order to expand the processing industries, taking advantage of production integration, and a bigger market. This is while maintaining equitable distribution of ben fits and burdens among countries taking part in the cooperation process. Cooperation and coordination lead, among other things, to a higher economic efficacy of existing production units, greater investment opportunities in the processing industries, utilization of joint capabilities and resources, and higher industrial growth rates.

The matter did not stop at mere words. Many procedural and executive steps have been adopted in this direction to establish firmly gulf industrial cooperation and coordination. In this context, the recent coordinating meetings held in Riyadh with the active participation of Qatar were meant to provide greater capabilities for industrial growth and coordination at the gulf level. Perhaps the most significant and salient meeting was the one held by the technical committee of the GCC General Secretariat on 9 and 10 September in Riyadh. The Qatari delegation was headed by Engineer Majid 'Abdallah al-Maliki, director of the Industrial Affairs Department at the Ministry of Industry and Works, in addition to two representatives from the Ministry of Economy and Trade and the Ministry of Finance.

This committee, according to Eng Majid al-Maliki, has been commissioned by the GCC General Secretariat to deliberate a study prepared by the secretariat in cooperation with the Gulf Industrial Consulting Organization. Following discussions held by representatives from the ministries of industry, economy, and finance in all GCC countries, the following recommendations were made:

- First, the importance of setting up an apparatus to finance and guarantee GCC exports in the wake of an exhaustive feasibility study of such an apparatus.
- Second, the importance of creating a specific formula for raising production and marketing efficiency, including the establishment of a GCC marketing company.
- Third, preparation of studies on certain Arab industrial goods imports and discussion of the possibility of replacing them with locally-manufactured GCC goods with a view to identifying the opportunities available in Arab markets.
- Fourth, establishment of a GCC unified center for the development of imports and referring this proposal to the next meeting of the GCC chambers of commerce and industry for study.
- Fifth, reaffirmation of the role of the chambers of commerce and industry and the Gulf Bureau of Standards in the development of gulf exports, coordination among the competent sides, and facilitating GCC export procedures.
- Sixth, the importance of finding a quick solution to trade exchange problems and removing obstacles related to the outflow of gulf national products, thus promoting GCC exports and raising the level of trade among member countries, domestically and abroad, at rapid rates.

The Industrial Affairs Department of the Ministry of Industry and Works also participated in four other coordinating meetings in Riyadh in the last two weeks. The department was represented by Mr 'Abd-al-Wahid 'Abd-al-Rida Mashhadi, chief of the licensing and industrial records section, in addition to representatives from the Ministry of Economy and Trade and the Ministry of Finance.

The first meeting was held by the technical committee which was charged with reviewing the value-added factors in the production process for the purpose of promoting and facilitating trade exchange among GCC countries, and backing and urging these countries to utilize materials manufactured locally, with a view to achieving industrial integration in the region.

The second meeting discussed the plan for a GCC unified patent system. This meeting was attended by a representative from the Ministry of Industry and Works in addition to a delegate from the Ministry of Trade and one from Qatar University.

Eng 'Abd-al-Wahid 'Abd-al-Rida said this plan, which is still under study and consideration, is aimed at lending support to joint technical and scientific cooperation

among GCC countries, at gaining an authentic base to lend support and encouragement to technical and applied sciences and research, and at seeking to transfer and adapt imported technology to be in keeping with the nature of the area's needs and its progress and development goals.

In this connection, another meeting is scheduled to be held in Riyadh on 16 and 17 September to conclude the discussion of this important project which will open the door to the registration and development of scientific inventions and innovations in the area.

The third meeting was held by the standing technical committee in charge of issuing industrial licenses. This committee was formed by decree No 8 issued by the Industrial Cooperation Committee which convened last 23 May in Riyadh to coordinate and promote the establishment of industrial projects and its function is:

- To study every licensed industrial project with capital over 20 million riyals (or the equivalent in foreign currency).
- To provide the secretariat with full information on industrial licenses.

The last committee meeting discussed the project for the manufacture of telephone equipment in GCC countries. The GCC secretariat has commissioned a Kuwaiti company to form a founding committee for the project and call a meeting of this committee to adopt active measures to found the company and publicize it with the competent parties.

The meeting also discussed the special information form for licenses granted to new projects and the expansion of existing ones.

Finally, there was the meeting of the technical committee in charge of preparing a general guide for GCC countries to use in drafting laws and national rules and regulations pertaining to the 5-year industrial regulation law, to be followed by unified industrial regulations for GCC countries.

This committee holds annual meetings to review proposals submitted by member countries and to draft the final proper version for the unified industrial regulations. Here we have an observation to make, namely that all these studies and projects will remain under study by the GCC General Secretariat's technical committee to pave the way for the preparation of full reports to be submitted to the upcoming meetings of the Industrial Cooperation Committee, and the Economic and Fiscal Committee, to be attended by the competent ministers to ratify the reports.

Factors With Negative Impact on Arab Exports Outlined

90OL0078B Doha AL-RAYAH in Arabic 20 Sep 89 p 6

[Article: "Report on Arab Foreign Trade: Weak World Economic Growth Rates, Lower Basic Commodity Prices Impact Negatively on Arab Exports"]

[Text] The Arab countries visible foreign trade has been influenced during the eighties by a whole set of world and regional developments that have left clear imprints on the directions of this trade.

The Unified Arab Economic Report in its 1989 edition cited several indicators of these factors and their outcome, as illustrated below.

Oil Impact

Developments in the world oil market in recent years have had an impact on the volume of Arab foreign trade due to the importance of oil exports to overall Arab exports. The oil market weakness since 1982 has led to a great drop in the rate of overall Arab exports to world exports, from about 9.5 percent to about 4.3 percent in 1982 and 1986, respectively. This rate fell sharply in 1986 because of plummeting oil prices and, consequently, lower Arab oil export revenues. The value of Arab oil exports rose in 1987, but at a lower rate than that achieved at the world level, thus leading to a drop in the ratio of Arab exports to world exports, to around 4.1 percent. Notwithstanding the impact of oil exports on Arab exports and the subsequent effect of the former on the latter, there are other factors that have had a negative impact on the Arab exports performance. These include weak world economic growth rates, lower prices for most basic commodities, and greater protection measures in the principal industrialized countries brought about by the foreign imbalances within them which place a barrier before goods coming in, agricultural products and textiles—the most important Arab exports after oil, in particular.

In their development, Arab imports followed the same course as exports, dropping in value year after year during the 1982-86 period and rising slightly in 1987. As a percentage of world imports, overall Arab imports dropped from around 7.8 percent in 1982 to 4.3 percent in 1986 and 3.8 percent in 1987.

Commodity Structure

Arab foreign trade is still suffering from a commodity structure imbalance in view of the fact that basic commodities comprise the major part of Arab exports while machinery, transportation equipment, and other manufactured goods make up over two-thirds of Arab imports.

Commodity composition data for 1986 exports indicate that falling oil prices in that year lowered the ratio of oil exports to total Arab exports from an average of 91 percent during the 1982-85 period to around 81 percent in 1986. This drop is but a clear reflection of the

importance of Arab oil exports to the Arab export structure, due to the fact that exports of all kinds of manufactured commodities rose a little above the 8 percent of total Arab exports while food, raw material, and chemical material exports did not exceed 3 percent for each category.

Arab Imports

The Arab import structure for 1986 illustrates the Arab countries' great reliance on the outside world for manufactured goods. Transportation machinery and equipment represent about 31.9 percent of Arab imports and industrial products and other nonmanufactured goods around 33.5 percent.

And notwithstanding efforts made by several Arab countries to vitalize the agricultural sectors and realize a greater level of food production, the ratio of food and beverage imports to total Arab imports remains high, about 16.5 percent in 1986. It is worth pointing out, however, that the food and beverage balance of trade shows an improvement whereby the deficit has dropped from \$128 billion in 1982 to around \$12 billion in 1986.

Trade Trends

The report points out that the advanced industrialized countries' markets are the key outlet for Arab exports as well as the main source of Arab imports. In 1987, these markets absorbed about 62 percent of total Arab exports and were the source of around 69 percent of total Arab imports. The ratio of exports to these markets to total Arab exports ranged between 60 to 62 percent during the 1982-87 period, and that of imports from these markets to total Arab imports between 69 and 73.5 percent for the same period.

The European Common Market is the Arab countries' primary trade partner. In 1987, it took in about 62 percent of total Arab exports and supplied 42.54 percent of total Arab imports. The rate of Arab exports to Japan was about 17.7 percent while Arab imports from Japan accounted for 9.2 percent for 1987.

By and large, Arab trade with Japan followed a downward trend during the 1982-87 period due to a drop in the value of oil exports. As for Arab exports to the United States, they accounted for 9.3 percent while Arab imports from there accounted for 11.3 percent in 1987, thus gaining greater relative importance to Arab foreign trade for two successive years, following a downward trend that started in 1982.

With respect to other international groups, socialist countries markets are of minimal importance to Arab countries in view of the fact that in 1987 the rate of Arab exports to them amounted to 1.2 percent, and Arab imports from them amounted to 1.6 percent, with the highest level of 1.5 percent for exports and 2.1 percent for imports achieved in 1986.

The ratio of Arab visible trade to total Arab foreign trade remains low. In 1987, Arab visible exports accounted for 6.9 percent and visible imports 7.5 percent, and the remaining 30.3 percent of Arab exports went to other countries. These countries fulfilled about 21.7 percent of Arab imports for 1987.

Visible Trade

Regarding Arab visible trade, the total value of exports as well as imports suffered a market drop during the 1982-87 period, even though this drop was accompanied by a measure of fluctuation in the overall value of trade from one year to the next, for this trade was considered from the viewpoint of Arab visible exports which, in 1987, dropped in value to about 58 percent of their 1982 level. And notwithstanding the fact that full data on the commodity composition of the Arab visible trade are not available, chances are that lower oil prices, the key factor in this trade, was the chief element behind this drop.

Group Contribution

The major part of Arab visible exports emanates from GCC countries and the rate of these countries' visible imports is higher than that of any of the other groups. For although their ratio to total Arab visible exports has been on a downward trend in recent years, Arab visible exports from GCC countries still represent about two-thirds of Arab visible exports.

In 1983, the rate of GCC visible exports was about 76.3 percent of total Arab visible exports, dropping gradually to 64.8 percent in 1986, and rising to about 65.3 percent in 1987.

As for GCC visible imports, their ratio to total Arab visible imports was generally stable, amounting to an annual average rate of 48.4 percent for the 1982-87 period because the drop in their absolute value ran almost parallel to the drop in the absolute value of Arab visible imports. GCC countries realized a surplus in their regional trade throughout the 1982-87 period, with the highest level reached in 1982 and the lowest in 1986.

As for the Arab Cooperation Council [ACC] countries, the relative importance of visible exports to these countries has been enhanced in recent years. Their ratio to total Arab visible exports rose from 10.7 percent in 1982 to 14.8 percent in 1986 and 18.1 percent in 1987, becoming second in importance to GCC visible exports. ACC visible imports realized an average annual rate of about 24.3 percent of total Arab visible imports for the same period, following an upward trend during the last two years of this period, realizing an average rate of 26.7 percent in 1987.

As for the Arab Maghreb Federation, whose ratio of visible exports to the total Arab visible exports did not exceed 2.4 percent in 1982, it realized a steady increase in its contribution rate during the next 4 years, reaching a level of 9 percent in 1986 before dropping back to 6.9 percent in 1987.

On the other hand, the ratio of Arab Maghreb Federation visible imports to total Arab visible imports reflects a great measure of stability, for it reached its minimum level of 12.3 percent in 1983 and its maximum level of 14.4 percent in 1984-85.

UAE Trade Surplus With GCC Reported

90OL0078C Doha AL-RAYAH in Arabic 23 Sep 89 p 4

[Article: "UAE-GCC Trade Surplus 2.1 Billion Dirhams"]

[Text] The UAE-GCC [United Arab Emirates-Gulf Cooperation Council] trade surplus last year rose by 11 percent to 2.149 billion dirhams compared with 1.967 billion dirhams in 1987.

A recent UAE Central Bank report said that the balance of trade surplus with Saudi Arabia fell from 776 million dirhams in 1987 to around 387 million in 1988 due to a 287 million increase in UAE imports from Saudi Arabia versus a 102 million decrease in exports and reexports to Saudi Arabia.

The balance of trade with Bahrain realized a surplus for the first time after several years of being in the red.

The balance of trade with Kuwait, Qatar, and Oman last year realized a surplus over 1987.

The report pointed out that UAE imports from GCC countries last year rose by 350 million dirhams, to 1.454 billion.

The UAE Central Bank report also said that UAE nonoil exports to GCC countries last year grew to 577 million dirhams compared with 514 million in 1987, a 12 percent increase.

Exports to GCC countries accounted for 30 percent of last year's total nonoil exports to various other countries.

Likewise, UAE reexports to GCC countries last year rose by 22 percent over 1987, up to 3.066 billion dirhams. The reexport trade with GCC countries accounts for 41 percent of the total UAE reexports.

On the other hand, due to a great 20.4 percent increase in imports, to 31.3 billion, the UAE trade surplus with other countries of the world dropped from 19 billion dirhams in 1987 to 13.7 billion last year.

The report said that last year's total UAE exports, including oil and reexports, amounted to 45 billion, while the outflow of capital dropped from 8.26 to 2.93 billion dirhams because of investor wariness.

On another plane, Japan was the number-one exporter to the UAE via Dubai for this year, with 17.7 percent, followed by the United States, 8.4 percent; Great Britain, 7.9 percent; Korea, 7 percent; West Germany, 5.8 percent; and India, 4.3 percent.

Official statistics show that Iran ranked first in the export and reexport trade, with 22.4 percent, followed by Japan, 11.5 percent; Saudi Arabia, 6.7 percent; Kuwait, 4.5 percent; United States, 2.9 percent; Singapore and Germany, 3.1 percent; Bahrain, 3 percent; and India coming last with 2.6 percent.

The statistics pointed out that the value of imports for the first quarter of this year was 8,587 million dirhams, a 26.5 percent increase over the same period last year. The value of exports was 490 million, a 31.8 percent increase, and of reexports, 1,609 million dirhams, a 35 percent increase.

Arab States Reportedly Promote Science, Technology

90OL0081B Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 20 Sep 89 p 15

[Article by Y. Ben-Tzvi]

[Text] While Israel is drastically cutting its allocations for research and development and higher education, the Arab states are investing huge efforts to promote science and technology, which are already yielding fruit in the field. Israeli scientists returning from international conferences on areas in the "forefront of knowledge" are surprised each time anew by the number of scientists from Arab states, including Syria and Iraq.

Substantial progress has not been restricted to the number of Arab scientists taking part in different scientific conferences. No less prominent is the output of publications by scientists of the Arab states.

A senior scientist in an Israeli research institute states that such publications indicate a qualitative leap on the part of scientists of the Arab states. Elements in Israel who closely monitor what happens in the Arab states, especially the confrontation states, are deeply concerned about the rapid pace of change. The Arab states' equivalents of Israel's REFA'EL, [Combat Means Development Authority] cannot be underestimated. Sophisticated studies in areas of defense development are also being conducted in the Arab states. In Iraq, for example, studies at the most advanced level in areas related to missiles are being conducted. The Iraqis are developing and improving missiles which are guided with great accuracy over ranges of hundreds of kilometers. This testifies to impressive development in the most advanced areas of knowledge, including propulsion and guidance systems. Arab technology personnel are conducting these studies, which rely increasingly less on information from abroad.

The "brain drain" from the Arab states has stopped in an impressive manner in recent years. Arab research and development personnel who emigrated to the developed countries are returning to their countries of origin, where they are finding new challenges in a much more advanced scientific environment. This process is accelerating amid the massive development of universities,

technological institutes, and many research and development institutions. Special attention has been devoted to advancing lagging areas of technology, such as microelectronics, computer communications, and so on.

"Once, we were the pioneers of science and technology. Today, we are interested in a renaissance and a return to our former glory," states an Egyptian Government official in the scientific administration of his country. His comments also express the current mood in other Arab states, mainly the confrontation states, which are investing great resources in closing the scientific-technological gap with Israel as quickly as possible.

"If no change occurs, and the erosion in the budgets and status of research and development and higher education continues, our scientific-technological superiority over the Arab states will be substantially endangered," stated a senior scientist in the defense system.

Significant Contribution

Arab science began to take substantial steps in the early 1950s. It received additional momentum after the 6-Day War. The annual quantity of publications in international scientific journals by Arab scientists rose from about 10 in 1940 to about 250 in 1950, about 300 in 1966, about 400 in 1970, and more than 1,500 at present. The number of research papers at the post-doctorate and professor level is currently estimated at about 5,000 per year, compared to about only 600 in 1970. The fields of science extend to all of the pure sciences, including mathematics, and to all the Arab states, the main concentration being in Egypt and Iraq.

In the Arab world, there are about 40 institutions of higher education attended by more than 50,000 students. Tens of thousands of others study abroad annually.

This respectable number of university graduates contributes significantly to educational and economic development in the Muslim world, as well as to defense research and development. In the past 5 years, Egypt, Syria, Pakistan, and to a certain degree, Saudi Arabia, have made changes representing a departure in their science policies. These countries have shifted from ambitious, grandiose, unworkable undertakings to the systematic development of research and development according to a Western plan, which is being implemented at an increasing rate.

Egypt has been the premier Arab state regarding scientific-technological organization and administration. It currently has 14 governmental research institutes, more than in any other Arab state. Special emphasis has been placed on industrial research in Egypt, though many efforts have also been invested in the military area. The raising of Egypt's infrastructure level has made it possible to transfer the production and assembly of Mirage-2000 aircraft to it. In 1961, a science and research office was established in Egypt with responsibility for research institutes and the Fu'ad, the First National Scientific

Council. Syria has a national plan for scientific development prepared by the Supreme Council for Science in conjunction with the Planning Ministry.

Last year, the Syrians entered into research and development, microelectronics, chemistry, and nuclear energy, establishing institutes such as the Center for Nuclear Energy and Nuclear Research, the Center for Industrial Research and Development, and others. These centers are under the supervision of the Education Ministry, except for the Center for Military Research (in the manner of our REFA'EL), which is under the supervision of the army and the president of the state.

Iraq, with seven large research institutes, has had a strong national, scientific organization since 1963. This state invests great efforts in advancing military research and development, and it has attained significant gains in this area.

Jordan established the Royal Scientific Society in 1970. In recent years, the Hashemite Kingdom has strengthened its efforts in the area of industrial research. It established a technological information service to assist sophisticated industry and research institutes, and it has entered into activity in electronics, mechanical engineering, nuclear engineering, and computers.

Internal Immigration

The 1960s and 1970s were characterized by a brain drain from the Arab states. A rigid immigration policy and an economic crisis which produced growing unemployment in Europe and the United States caused many Arab scientists to return to their countries. A significant internal immigration trend currently exists among Arab scientists. The Arab governments are not attempting to stop the process, which they prefer to immigration to the West. Egypt, for example, reinforced its chemical engineering studies, among other things, to supply manpower to the oil industries in other Arab countries. In Syria, the government allows engineers and scientists to leave for 4 years to work in other Arab states. In Libya, al-Qadhafi is making efforts to bring back scientists who have immigrated, even by means of pressure, intimidation, and terror. The shortage of scientists has put an end to development projects of North African states in the defense and nondefense sectors.

Most of the states of the region have nuclear policies being planned or implemented. Pakistan is the moving force in this area.

The nuclear projects of Saudi Arabia, Libya, and Iraq emphasize research and development. Saudi Arabia is examining the establishment of nuclear power reactors along the coasts of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. According to the fuel sources plan, uranium and thorium will be supplied by deposits discovered throughout the state after they are enriched.

Libya has had a Russian nuclear reactor since 1981 with an output of 44 megawatts, and it has nuclear cooperation agreements with Pakistan and Argentina. In this context, al-Qadhdhafi's generous financial support of Pakistan's "Islamic bomb" is known. Iraq has been active in the nuclear field since 1968. In 1975, planning and construction of the French reactor, Osiris-Tammuz 1, with an output of 70 megawatts and an investment of \$360 million, was begun. The French have promised to help the Iraqis build a 600-megawatt reactor, Osiris-Tammuz 2, which will employ about 600 Iraqi scientists and technicians. Iraq has nuclear cooperation agreements with Brazil, Italy, and Portugal for the supply of nuclear technology and enriched uranium. The destruction of the French plant in April 1979, and the explosion of the "Osirak" reactor in June 1981 by the Israeli Air Force did not discourage the Iraqis. They are continuing with full force in their nuclear efforts.

Syria is also investing substantial efforts in nuclear research and development. In 1976, an atomic energy commission was established there. Syria is negotiating with Belgium and Switzerland on the planning and construction of the first nuclear power reactor in the state. Syria plans to build no less than six nuclear power reactors, with a total output of 6,000 megawatts and an investment of \$3.6 billion. These reactors will meet the state's electricity consumption needs by the late 1990s. The first station, to be built by the Belgians, will become operational in the second half of the 1990s. Concurrently, the Syrians are also working to build nuclear research reactors with the aid of the Russians and the Italians, and they recently began to survey sites.

The Jordanians have also recently shown a growing interest in nuclear physics. Several years ago, they acquired an improved neutron accelerator for Amman University.

Gains Worthy of Mention

The Arab states have large uranium deposits, mainly in Tunisia and Algeria (reserves of about 50,000 tons), and in Egypt (about 30,000 tons). Excluding Pakistan, it is estimated that both Egypt and Iraq have the ability to independently develop a nuclear weapon within several years. According to all signs, Egypt is currently not investing special efforts in this direction. However, Iraq certainly is. Those states incapable of independently developing a nuclear weapon are attempting to acquire it from the major powers. For example, a deal taking shape between China and Saudi Arabia for the sale of long-range missiles, on which nuclear warheads can be mounted, has been publicized.

Israel has a special interest in the research and application effort which Arab states are investing in an ostensibly harmless area, namely chemicals, especially insect and pest control, as this area constitutes the base for developing a chemical and biological weapon.

The Gulf War revealed the existence of this weapon, at least in Iraq's possession. In past years, in the Yemen

War, Egypt made great use of chemical weapons. Syria is also investing research efforts in this area. However, according to what is known, it has not yet developed such a weapon. With the help of German and Swiss companies and scientists, Libya is attempting to develop a chemical weapon under the camouflage of pharmaceutical plants. The intensive research effort in Syria in the military area has found expression in the development and production of ammunition and electronic components for land forces, including armor; in this area, it has attained achievements worthy of mention.

Scientific-technical cooperation between Arab states is reflected in the inter-Arab communications satellite, Arabsat. Twenty-one Arab states share in this project. The first satellite in this framework was launched in April 1985 by means of the French Ariane rocket. However, this satellite did not function due to a series of hitches discovered in the satellite immediately after it entered orbit. The scientists have since introduced another two satellites into orbit. The Arabs plan to position at least three communications satellites in space, which will move above our region at an altitude of 36,000 km, adding about 8,000 telephone lines, seven international communications lines, and television channels. These satellites are liable to grant the Arab states the ability to disrupt the internal communications system in Israel. They could also be used for military intelligence purposes. Monitoring stations on the ground will be built in each of the Arab states, and the central control station will be in Saudi Arabia.

[Box, p15] In Israel...Neglect

Researchers at the Combat Means Development Authority (REFA'EL) are waging a public campaign against what they call "neglect of research and development in Israel."

In addition to the cutbacks in defense system orders and the procurement priorities which the general staff determined in previous years, there is a continuing trend in the defense system to view REFA'EL as an independent economic body to be tested in terms of profit and loss.

This trend, which was defined by the Defense Ministry Administration, and which obliges REFA'EL to reveal a substantial portion of its products to the world for sales purposes, sets up competing defense industries.

REFA'EL, which grew out of the Science Corp of the IDF [Israel Defense Forces], saw itself over the years as a research and development body in which economic considerations were absent, inasmuch as it is a Defense Ministry support unit. Researchers in the authority have devoted their energies to developing that "secret hit" or "sting" which would be the surprise of the next war.

The last issue of REFA'EL's mouthpiece, published this week, criticizes, directly and indirectly, the Defense Ministry administration, Defense Minister Rabin, and

the IDF general staff, because of their feeling regarding a worrisome reduction of the slice of the pie allocated for research and development.

One of the articles in the mouthpiece, by Y. Ben-Tzvi, a scientist in the authority, describes technological developments in the Arab states and the confrontation states, and the reduction of the gap between us and the enemy

We have chosen to cite, in "a hollow charge," the article in its entirety, because it contains much material upon which to reflect. The solutions are much more difficult.

Syrian Agricultural Engineer Visits Egypt, Prepares Conference

45000048 London AL-HAWADITH
in Arabic 17 Nov 89 p 11

[Text] With the blessings of Presidents Husni Mubarak and Hafiz al-Asad, relations between Syria and Egypt keep growing stronger.

Yahya Bakkur, the Syrian agricultural engineers' union leader and secretary general of the Arab Agricultural Engineers' Union, visited Cairo and praised the Egyptian experiment in giving out land ownership to university graduates for a nominal price under directions from the Egyptian president.

Bakkur said that his visit is to prepare for the ninth technical conference of the Arab Agricultural Engineers' Union, which will be held in Cairo next year under the banner of Arab unity in the area of marketing agricultural products. He affirmed that the Syrian farmers' union will send an invitation to an Egyptian farmers' union delegation to visit Syria.

Report Blames Israel for Low Tomato Harvest

45000054 Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 6 Nov 89 p 1

[Report by Ahmad 'Abdallah 'Aziz]

[Text] Al-Fayyum—A security report affirms that the reason for the destruction of this year's tomato harvest in Egypt stems from the import of seeds from countries with distinguished relations with Israel.

The report said that these countries made a secret agreement with Israel to export seeds infected with a virus to destroy the plants and harm the Egyptian economy.

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Plans for Government-in-Exile Established

44000077 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
29 Nov 89 p 1

[Text] Palestinian public figures from the territories have written a plan for the establishment of a Palestinian

"government-in-exile," which would control an independent administrative system in the territories. The plan is being circulated as a working paper among activist circles and the national leadership in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The writers of the plan wish to receive comments on their working paper so that it may be sent to the PLO leadership. The chief objective of the plan is to provide real substance to the Palestinian declaration of independence and to establish an institutionalized structure for the "state-in-the-making." The plan has thus far encountered considerable criticism from figures in the territories, and the idea of establishing a provisional Palestinian government has been postponed for a long time because of the opposition of most high-level PLO officials. Prominent public figures from the territories stated last night that the plan is not practicable, and that mentioning it in the media diverts attention from the central diplomatic issue, which is the effort to hold Israeli-Palestinian negotiations with the participation of PLO representatives. Other public figures expressed interest in the plan, and added that it is likely to give new impetus to the intifadah. According to defense establishment sources, the initiative is merely a media ploy intended to renew interest in the intifadah.

Syrian Imprisonment of Palestinian Fighters Discussed

90OL0093B London AL-DUSTUR
in Arabic 16 Oct 89 pp 14-16

[Article: "Syrian Attack Against Palestinian Camps in Lebanon"]

[Text] As the destructive fighting affecting the city of Beirut, its suburbs, and other areas of Lebanon halted, Syrian intelligence agencies began to launch a carefully planned psychological war of terror aimed at Palestinian civilians in the Beirut camps, concentrating on the camps of Burj al-Barajinah and Mar Ilyas and on what remains of the Sabra and Shatila camp communities.

Reports to AL-DUSTUR from Lebanon state that during the last week of September, Syrian intelligence agencies mobilized all their agents, who began to launch a wide-ranging pursuit and raking operation, looking for those designated as Palestinian elements loyal to Fatah, Chairman Yasir 'Arafat, and the Arab Liberation Committee. In this campaign, they made use of their tools in such organizations as the dissidents, al-Sa'iqah, the General Command, and the Revolutionary Council.

This savage campaign led to the imprisonment and kidnapping of dozens of Palestinian youths charged with belonging to Fatah. They were handed over to the Syrian intelligence agencies, which in turn transported them to Syrian prisons in al-Biqa' and Damascus.

After this campaign of terror, many young people were forced to flee. Others took refuge with the Revolutionary Council organization, for fear of being detained, kidnapped, or assassinated by Syrian intelligence and the

dissidents. Dozens of youths from Burj al-Barajinah and Mar Ilyas camps sought refuge with this organization.

Information from Beirut indicates that most of the youths from the Tall al-Za'tar camp community who were living in Mar Ilyas camp and who took refuge with the Revolutionary Council organization have completely disappeared from view. The information indicates that some of them were subjected to physical liquidation, particularly after the Revolutionary Council's announcement of a new crime of assassination perpetrated against Palestinian Red Crescent workers in Mar Ilyas camp. On 26 September, the Revolutionary Council boldly assassinated Dr Khalil Muhammad Shakir. On the 29th of the same month, the organization assassinated Dr 'Awni Hijazi, a [Red] Crescent doctor in Mar Ilyas camp. They were charged with supporting Chairman 'Arafat and the PLO. An atmosphere of fear and terror hovered over the Palestinian camps in Beirut. These carefully orchestrated crimes aroused a wave of anger and loathing among a Palestinian public sinking under this yoke of terror being imposed on the inhabitants of the camps.

In the wake of this, the Palestinian camps began to witness widespread exodus and emigration, especially among the ranks of young people, who began to crowd brokers' offices in order to emigrate to Denmark, Sweden, West Germany, and Switzerland, paying enormous sums of money—up to \$3,000 for a single person.

Palestinian circles state that this blatant terrorism clearly shows that these agencies are involved in the notorious American-Israeli plot to uproot the Palestinian camps from Beirut. As a first stage, the remaining inhabitants of the camps would be forced to emigrate toward al-Biq'a and Tripoli. First signs of the plan began to emerge when the International Relief Agency was forced to transfer its offices, warehouses, and service centers to South Lebanon during the past year.

Regarding the Lebanese south, reports that AL-DUSTUR has received from Lebanon state that the groups taking orders from Syrian intelligence, especially the Revolutionary Council organization and the dissidents, have begun a security plan aimed at pursuing, kidnapping, and assassinating many Palestinian cadres in the Fatah movement and the Arab Liberation Front.

These groups have begun preparing lists of names of members of these organizations and of their supporters who are members of the Popular Committees, university and school notables and professors, and students, especially in the Sidon camps ('Ayn al-Hulwah and al-Miyah wa Miyah) and the Tyre camps.

All this is happening at a time when the Zionist enemy with its isolationist militias is continuing to launch reprisal attacks against the villages and camps of South Lebanon and is strengthening and massing its forces in preparation for a full-scale attack to strike a blow at the Palestinian-Lebanese national presence in the south and extinguish the fire of national resistance against the occupiers and their agents.

In addition to the reports that AL-DUSTUR has received, the Committee To Defend Palestinian Militants Imprisoned in Syria, which has set out to disclose the dangerous series of crimes being committed by "these terrorist gangs" against the steadfast Palestinian people in Lebanon, has placed before officials in the Palestinian leadership and before Palestinian and Arab public opinion a document written by Mrs Subhiyah Murad, the wife of Mustafa Murad, Abu-Nidal al-Banna's deputy, who was recently assassinated and liquidated by the Revolutionary Council, along with a number of his comrades.

The committee has also unveiled the fact that this organization recently issued a secret decision mandating the execution of the Revolutionary Council's former official spokesman, 'Atif Abu-Bakr. The latter was able to hide for a time in Libya, but after threats to kill him increased, was forced to leave for an unknown destination.

The committee states that this organization crowned its "criminal terrorism" this week with a new crime against friends of the Palestinian revolution. It kidnapped two of the most prominent Swiss volunteer workers in the International Red Cross from their Sidon medical center that offers medical services to Palestinians and Lebanese in Lebanon and the south. "In the face of this new crime, the goals of this terrorism against our people and its friends in international humanitarian organizations have become completely evident."

At the end of its report, the Committee To Defend Palestinian Militants Imprisoned in Syria made it clear that the PLO, the resistance groups rallied under its banner, and all Palestinian and Arab national forces are now called upon to move quickly and immediately to curb and stop "this new terrorist attack, and thus save and protect our people from the criminal sway of these bloody gangs who have violated everything sacred in our Palestinian and Arab arena to cover up the crimes and daily terrorism of the Zionist enemy against the people and heroes of the intifadah [uprising] in Palestine."

Letter to Chairman 'Arafat From the Committee To Defend Palestinian Militants Imprisoned in Syria

The Committee To Defend Palestinian Militants Imprisoned in Syria has sent a letter to Mr Yasir 'Arafat, head of the state of Palestine and chairman of the PLO's Executive Committee. The committee explains in its letter that it has received a number of letters from prisoners and from their families and relatives. The letters unanimously implore Chairman 'Arafat and his fellow Palestinian leaders to exert all possible efforts with the Syrian authorities and to work for the prisoners' release, particularly in light of repeated reports about a possible normalization of relations between the PLO and Syria and about Damascus' readiness to receive a delegation of Palestinian leaders to restore relations.

The letter presents new facts about the condition of prisoners from all groups of the revolution, as follows:

First, during the last 2 weeks, Syrian security forces encircled the entrances of al-Yarmuk camp (al-Jisr region) and arrested a number of Palestinian youths. Also, a number of female students training at the Palestinian Liberation Army's Martyr Hilwah Zaydan Center were detained for questioning to learn which group had raised a picture of Yasir 'Arafat on the highest wall of the center, which is located at the camp's main entrance.

In an atmosphere of repression and terror, the camp's residents were forced to remove the picture, just as now occurs in occupied Palestine. However, the large picture of Brother Abu-'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] had remained raised for several days before being suddenly discovered by the authorities. "The masses of our people saw it and believed that it had been raised officially on the occasion of the approaching normalization of Palestinian-Syrian relations and to welcome the legitimate Palestinian leaders on their visit to Damascus."

Second, after the health of many of the prisoners deteriorated last month, the Syrian regime was forced to move some of them to Tishrin Military Hospital for treatment. They were placed under strict guard and given fictitious names. These prisoners are known to have included: 'Arafat Dawik (Abu-Fathi), Dr Dawud al-Hasan, Tawfiq al-Tirawi, Raji al-Najmi, Lieutenant Colonel Fa'iz 'Arafat, and Major Mustafa Dhiyab (Abu-al-Fath).

Others were moved to al-Mazzah, Saydnaya, and Tadmur prisons to improve their conditions of imprisonment. They included: Hasan Zaydan (Abu-Faruq), Shafiq al-Safadi, Engineer Salah Jadallah, and others. These prisoners are from the leadership cadres of the Fatah movement in the Lebanese and Syrian area.

On the pretext of insuring the care needed to treat the prisoners, government agencies commandeered large quantities of medicines and drugs from Palestinian Red Crescent depositories and from Jaffa Hospital in Damascus.

This happens continually. These medicines were observed being offered for sale in markets and pharmacies of Damascus and the provinces.

Third, contrary to government-circulated rumors that some of the Palestinian prisoners would be released, none of them has been released to date, except 'Ali Rabbah al-Barghuthi (Abu-Tha'ir) and Muhammad Riyad 'Awdah (Abu-Riyad), both from Fatah. They were released after being broken by disease and the effects of savage torture. They were old, and it was feared that they might die in prison.

Furthermore, all the promises and commitments by the leaders and president of the Syrian regime to a number of Arab and international trade union organizations, such as unions of lawyers, teachers, and workers, to release a number of trade-unionist prisoners have been no more than promises whereby the regime intended to lead these organizations on and encourage them to hold their pan-Arab conventions and specialized conferences

in Damascus. The goal was to use these activities as cover for an attempt to break the political and public isolation of the regime on the local and pan-Arab levels.

"There is no doubt that the brothers in the Palestinian leadership are fully aware of the deteriorating health and psychological state of the prisoners and the difficult conditions of their families. We know that they have frightening details about the conditions of most of the Palestinian prisoners in Syria or who have been kidnapped from Lebanon and moved to the prisons of Damascus or al-Biq'a', particularly in recent days, when some groups linked to the regime's intelligence agencies have carried out an auxiliary role in this field. We particularly mention the Revolutionary Council group and the Abu-Musa group of dissidents. These groups have kidnapped dozens of Palestinian and Lebanese militants from Lebanon and handed them over to the Syrian intelligence agencies."

The letter of the Committee To Defend Palestinian Militants Imprisoned in Syria continues, addressing the brothers in the Palestinian leadership: "The Syrian regime and its leaders have made many repeated promises and commitments to many Arab, international, and Palestinian groups to release several hundred of the prisoners who fill its prisons and dungeons collectively and as hostages. They were unjustly and aggressively arrested without charge or justification for continuous imprisonment lasting several years. They are being subjected to inhuman conditions that the human spirit cannot bear.

"Our Palestinian masses in Syria and Lebanon and the relatives of the prisoners and kidnapped persons express their hopes that the rulers of Damascus will this time give concrete expression to their intention to normalize relations with the PLO by releasing the prisoners as a sign of good faith. This step is the real indicator and measure of the credibility of the promises and of the recent repeated commitments that the leaders of the Syrian regime made during their latest meeting with the Palestinian leadership in Belgrade—commitments involving, as Vice President 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam has stated, the freeing of hundreds of prisoners."

At its close, the letter states that the hearts and eyes of our imprisoned heroes look to the Palestinian leadership, awaiting their salvation and liberation, so that they can share in the honor of the revolutionary moment that our people's blessed intifadah has released in Palestine.

Palestinian Union Funded To Build Centers

44000096 London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic
13 Nov 89 p 38

[Text] The Arab chambers of commerce have decided to contribute \$285,000 to the Union of Palestinian Chambers of Commerce to establish centers in occupied Palestinian cities. The conference of Arab chambers of commerce, which was held last week in Abu Dhabi, also

called for opening Arab markets to products from the occupied Palestinian territories.

AL-MAJALLAH Tours Gaza Strip

90OL0072A London AL-MAJALLAH
in Arabic 10 Oct 89 pp 27-34

[Article by Nadim Nasir]

[Text] The taxi bringing us from Jerusalem approached the fortified inspection post, which the Israeli enemy calls "Checkpoint Iris," on the new northern "border" of the Gaza Strip, on the heights overlooking Gaza City from the north. Israel had moved the "border" several kilometers to the south to include a slice of the strip's territory, which it considered part of Israel, building a settlement there near the highway, on a hill overlooking the sea. A passenger said: "There are three public swimming pools in this settlement, and we lack drinking water." Another said: "If the Taba dispute lasted 10 years, this slice of the strip will require a half century." The car slowed at "Checkpoint Iris," and the faces of the passengers became dejected upon the appearance of a deriding signal given by a soldier, who approached slowly, carrying an American machinegun and peering disgustedly inside the car. After a few moments, he ordered us to move on: "Go, move along." The driver muttered a few words as he depressed the gas pedal. The hostility between the strip's populace and Israelis is more intense than in other areas, such that it became dangerous for Israeli civilians to enter the strip's cities several years before the intifadah [uprising] erupted in Gaza.

At the first gas station after "Checkpoint Iris," I asked the driver to stop. He asked disapprovingly: "Here? What do you want to do here. The shabab [youths] will think that you are Jew in those sun glasses and foreign clothes, and they will attack you." I assured him that I would be safe among my people. Shaking his head unconvinced, he nonetheless let me off in front of the station and left. I had an appointment in this place with a "connecting link," who would accompany me to activist elements in the strip. I knew nothing about the man except his first name and general appearance. I did know, however, that he was a junior-ranking leader in Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement], all of whose senior-ranking leaders had been imprisoned in Israeli detention camps. From the outset, I was uninterested in talking with traditional notables or leaders in the West Bank or Gaza Strip. Instead, I aimed to reach the key figures and roots affecting the intifadah, which exploded in December 1 to 2 kilometers from where I was standing. It was natural that I be especially interested in meeting representatives of Hamas, which appeared in Gaza 2 years ago under the leadership of Shaykh Ahmad Yasin, whom the Israelis arrested, even though a slipped disk—not Israeli torture—has left him totally paralysed and able to move only his mouth. The Gaza Strip is the movement's main stronghold, although Hamas elements

are also in the West Bank, as evidenced by Hamas slogans covering the walls there.

Still fresh in memory are images of the al-Shuja'iyah Quarter and the "Taggart" building, models of which the British built throughout Palestine to serve as headquarters for their security and administrative forces in the main cities. Still existing is that long sandy road connecting Gaza City with the sea and its smooth sandy shores, which extend as far as the eye can see and further. I knew that Gaza had changed for the worse since 1948. It could neither develop naturally nor exploit the tourist potential of its unique geographical location, because of the circumstances of the Zionist invasion and the influx of refugees into it. An American friend, whom I had met by chance in Jerusalem and who had been in the strip before me, stated that "despite the occupation, daily confrontations, tension, refugee camps, poverty, and the area's need for the most basic infrastructures of civilized society, I found my stay there pleasurable. The climate of the strip and its geographical nature are identical to that of southern California, where I live." I read that Israel is planning to build a tourist complex south of the city to establish a presence and exploit the region's natural beauty by attracting tourism. I also heard that Israel is exporting Gaza's fine sand on ships. With an area of 360 square km in which 720,000 Palestinians live, the Gaza Strip is one of the world's most densely populated areas. Nevertheless, the occupation authorities have seized 1/2 of the strip (120 square km), building on it 18 settlements populated by no more than 25,000 Jews. The expansion projects continue to move forward. The Israelis recently appropriated a plot abounding in grape vines in the al-Rimal area, and subjoined it to the land allotted to a settlement there. It is strange that 82 percent of the total ground water in the strip is apportioned to the settlers in an area in which the Arabs depend almost entirely on agriculture, which represents 80 percent of their income.

The Big Prison

A small red car approaches slowly and stops. A squarely built, bearded man emerges, proffering his hand, a broad smile on his face: "Welcome to the big jail." I extend my hand, and we shake hands. "But you will emerge from this jail safely, God willing," he adds. My liaison is an engineer who studied numerous years in Britain before returning to serve his country. However, the Israelis prevented him from practicing his profession, because of their suspicions regarding him, although they are unable to prove any charge against him. He escorts me in his car on a tour of the city and the al-Shati' Camp, and to a meeting with activist elements, who will not be named for security considerations. Such people do not usually come into contact with the media and journalists. The traditional leaders usually deal with the media, but activist elements clearly doubt these leaders' ability to convey a clear picture to the outside world of what is happening in the strip. One such element later stated: "We are forgotten here, politically, and by the media. Since the intifadah started, a day has not passed without

confrontations and escalation operations between our youths and the enemy's soldiers, or without injuries and arrests. Likewise, a month has not passed without at least five martyrs falling. However, we are forgotten here. The political and media elements in the West Bank, who do not suffer from the same blockade imposed on us, are more active and able to convey their message to the outside. If the Nahalin massacre in the West Bank is compared to the al-Nusayrat massacre in the strip, it becomes clear that the outside world was more alarmed by Nahalin, while no one abroad heard about al-Nusayrat, even though it was a more heinous incident leaving a greater number of victims. This incident occurred during the first day of the Feast of Breaking the Ramadan Fast (14 May). On that blessed day, Israeli forces assaulted the camp and indiscriminately mowed down people. According to aid agency statistics, six martyrs fell and 406 were wounded in the 2-hour operation. Eight subsequently died from their injuries, raising the number of martyrs to 14. Nonetheless, none of the traditional leaders called the Western media to a press conference to reveal the dimensions of the incident and to criticize its perpetrators." A possible explanation for this is that foreign journalists are very hesitant about travelling to the strip. Journalists spending the night there are thought to be insane. The strip has only one small hotel which is empty most of the time. Several local correspondents who provide Jerusalem newspapers with news of the strip stay there. However, they operate as individuals within a narrow range restricted to Gaza alone.

A visitor can immediately understand why foreign correspondents refrain from visiting Gaza or staying there. In addition to the dangers stemming from frequent confrontations with enemy forces, the general strikes announced by the Unified Command or Hamas, and the full curfews imposed for days on broad areas of the strip from 2000 until 0300, there is a lack of living arrangements and professional facilities needed by foreign correspondents to perform their work in an organized fashion. Also, the local authorities discourage reporters from going to Gaza, except for brief visits under the protection of Israeli patrols. Nonetheless, upon merely entering the city or one of its camps, one perceives the dimensions of the human suffering in this society, whose doors to a livelihood have been firmly closed.

The weight of this perception is intensified by the feeling that Gaza is garbed in black, thanks to the black paint used by the Israeli authorities to cover the slogans which the resistance writes on the walls of the main streets. The sand on the roads has also been blackened by the tires set on fire during the daily confrontations.

The occupation authorities have also blocked street accesses with barrels to prevent the strike forces from moving freely during their operations. Every family has suffered from the violence of the occupation in one way or another. Since the intifadah started, about 230 martyrs have fallen in the strip alone, and 25,000 have been wounded. Since the occupation began, some 45-50,000

persons have been imprisoned, including 30,000 imprisoned during the intifadah began in detention camps and central prisons. In addition, about 2,000 have been arrested for 2-6 months without being charged. Previously, only the military governor could order administrative detention. Currently, any patrol commander, regardless of rank, can detain a citizen "for not liking his appearance," as stated by a lawyer in Gaza. The administrative governor and his deputy in the strip, both reportedly Druze from occupied Palestine, are known for their viciousness and mercilessness in dealing with citizens. The governor is descended from the Halabi family and his deputy is known by the name of Nazim. Palestinians in the occupied territories complain that Druze elements in the Israeli army, especially in the "Border Guard" are the cruelest group in the "defense forces." It was a Druze "border guard" which perpetrated the Nahalin massacre in the West Bank. Despite the deep-seated hostility between the Lebanese and Syrian Druze on the one hand, and the Israeli presence on the other, only Palestinian Druze and a few Negev Arabs are permitted to serve in the Israeli Army.

The Economic Situation

Perhaps the economic situation presents the bleakest picture of Gaza, inasmuch as it has forced numerous people, previously known to be prosperous, to suffer in silence following a decline in the living standard which threatens famine in some sectors of society. An activist element responsible for providing food aid to the families of martyrs and prisoners stated that "we have to search out people who are wasting away to assist them. When we find them, they are hesitant about accepting help. One's honor here is the most important thing. They plead with us not to tell anyone that we have given them tahini or some food."

The deterioration in the strip's economic situation is attributed to a number of interwoven factors stemming from its continued primary dependence on its excellent agricultural produce, which it had been exporting to Jordan, the Gulf states, Israel, and the West Bank. However, after the intifadah started, the Unified Command banned imports from Israel, except basic commodities lacking substitutes in the strip. The ban applied especially to red and yellow melons and other fruits. Sources in Gaza estimate that Israel has lost \$280 million annually in sales of Negev melons to the strip's strong consumer market. In retaliation, Tel Aviv banned the export of any agricultural produce from the strip abroad, including the West Bank and Israel. As a result, farmers cannot even cover the cost of fertilizer by selling their produce on the local market. A box of choice grapes weighing 15 kg is sold on the local market for 5 shekels (about \$1.50), whereas 1 kg of grapes in Arab Jerusalem is sold for 5 shekels. In one farm near the city, we met Hajj Yusuf al-Za'im, a Gaza notable. Angry over the losses incurred by his produce, he stated that "the price of agricultural produce has declined greatly, and does not cover the cost insecticides or fertilizers. Farmers are forced to sell at any price to avoid the spoilage of their

produce. A box of tomatoes weighing 15-16 kg costs 1 shekel if it is sold from the farm directly, or 2 shekels (about \$1.00) if it is purchased in the market. If two boxes are purchased at the farm, the farmer provides the third free."

Hajj Yusuf al-Za'im is most incensed by the letters sent to him by the occupation authority regarding his farm, which it calls "the plot of land whose ownership it claims."

With the success of the European Common Market legation in forcing Israel to permit the export of Palestinian products to European markets directly, citrus merchants in Gaza have fallen prey to Jewish export middlemen. When the first boat from Gaza was loaded with citrus fruit for shipment to Rotterdam Port, the Israelis insisted on inspecting every box. The boxes arrived destroyed with damaged contents. Nonetheless, the middleman, a Dutch Jew, insisted on the full payment of his commission.

The final financial resource whose decline has affected the strip's economic situation is the income of Palestinian workers employed in Israel, whose number fluctuates between 80-100,000. Until 1967, the strip did not have a working class per se. The hope of every family was for its children to study, attend college in Egypt, graduate as physicians, engineers, or teachers, and work in the Gulf to support their families. Therefore, illiteracy was reduced to a minimum, and the only illiterate people were the elderly who missed the education train. However, the situation changed after the occupation. Before long, a working class gradually arose, which acquired skills suited to the Israeli labor market, which is inexpensive in that workers are not required to live in Israel, and they have learned Hebrew. However, income from Israel has harmed the economic situation in the strip and facilitated the current crisis, the reason being that Israeli inflation has affected the occupied territories more than Israel, because the income of Israelis has increased in proportion to inflation, whereas the daily wages of workers from the occupied territories have remained fixed.

Other Circumstances

Economic conditions in the strip are worse than those in the West Bank, which had been receiving regular assistance from Jordan. When the intifadah began, the situation of the working class became more complicated. On the one hand, some workers refrained from working in Israel. On the other hand, Israeli employers attempted to replace Palestinian laborers—no longer considered reliable because of the long curfews and general strikes which paralyzed transportation—with workers from Portugal and south Lebanon; however, this experiment failed. Also, thousands of Gaza citizens who had been in jails or detention camps could not work in Israel at all, because their identity cards were taken from them, making them unable to move without exposing themselves to detention. One person detained in the past

related the following to AL-MAJALLAH in his home in al-Shati' Camp: "We left the prison camp to become hostages of house arrest. I cannot go meters from the door of my house without being exposed to arrest again. They sentenced us to continue without work or a source of livelihood." However, how does this man and his wife and children live? "A life of shame and disgrace," he states. The aid agency, which provides some material assistance to children going to school, maintains store-houses with enough food to feed the entire strip for 2 full years. However, the Israelis prohibit its distribution to the people. The Israelis have also prepared cards, resembling bank credit cards, with magnetic strips containing information pertaining to cardholders, including prior security convictions and fines and taxes owed to Israel. By merely placing the card in an electronic apparatus equipped with a monitor, all of this information pertaining to the cardholder is displayed. If a person has prior convictions, he is prohibited from entering Israel to work. If he owes money to the occupation authority, especially taxes or fines left unpaid by order of the Unified Command, his card is taken away until he pays his obligations."

The cards are considered an illegal infringement on individual rights in all civilized countries. Therefore, the Unified Command has been collecting them from citizens and destroying them as fast as the Israelis are issuing them. The citizens are complaining that Israel is imposing on them large tax assessments inconsistent with the rates imposed on industry in Israel. They are certain that Israel is attempting to strangle Arab industry, especially the agricultural produce canning industry, which could solve the problem of the recession in the market for these products due to the Israeli blockade imposed on the strip. A youth active in the uprising in Gaza told us of a man who opened a factory to produce car batteries whose molds he imported through Israel. His batteries succeeded, selling well in the strip, the West Bank, and even Israel itself. Suddenly, the taxes imposed on him began to rise, until one day he was requested to pay 100,000 dinars (almost \$400,000 at the time) for the 3 previous months. He became incensed, protesting and complaining about the unfair tax. When he inquired as to basis on which his taxes are assessed, inasmuch as Israel knows his production volume, because he imports molds through it, the assessing officer responded to him with a forced smile: "Do you think that this sum is a tax on the batteries you produce? We want you to pay for the air you breath." A story was also related about a craftsman from the al-'Ashi family who owned a shop in which he cast engine heads, precisely copying every spare part needed for machines to solve the import ban problem in the strip. However, the occupation authority ordered him to close his store without showing any cause.

Other factors which entrenched the economic crisis in the strip include the deterioration in the value of the Jordanian dinar, which most people save for times of need. Ten dinars, which previously equalled 50 shekels,

now equal 20 shekels. Sources state that the Israeli authorities were among the numerous factors behind the dinar's decline in value, because they flooded markets in the occupied territory with dinars, while acting to create an Israeli monetary liquidity shortage. The shekel's unavailability in the strip thus compelled people to sell their dinar savings at the lowest price. As a result of these factors which Israel created in the strip, the living standard of both refugees and original inhabitants of the strip has declined. The needy in the Gaza Strip are theoretically supposed to receive assistance from the social affairs bureau, however the budget of this bureau in Gaza was reduced from 18 million shekels last year to a mere 3 million this year. Likewise, the sum received monthly by the blind and disabled has declined from 120 to 10 shekels. Thus, the Unified Command and the Hamas leadership have had to rely on self-help, whereby the able help the weak. All agencies to which AL-MAJALLAH spoke inside the strip denied receiving any aid worth mentioning from abroad, stating that marginal aid is being provided by foreign or local charitable societies, such as "The Charitable Organization To Assist the People of the Gaza Strip," which was founded by former Mayor Rashad al-Shawwa before his death. This society was tantamount to a representative of the Jordanian government regarding the Occupied Territories Development Project, which Amman proposed in late 1986, but which ended officially with Jordan's severance of its ties. A Hamas element responsible for collecting charity funds and alms and distributing them to the needy stated that "I hear that funds are coming from abroad, but we see none of them. I say—with grief squeezing my soul—that what comes from abroad through certain channels is being lapped up by these channels before it reaches the needy."

AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI Analyzes Syrian-Palestinian Relations

900L0072B London AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI
in Arabic 23 Sep 89 p 20

[Text] Many of our Palestinian people in the occupied territories are asking questions about Palestinian-Syrian relations—what is their actual state under the present circumstances, how did they reach that state, who benefits from the nature of this relationship at present, and other questions which become noticeably more numerous whenever the news media reports on a meeting between a Palestinian official and a Syrian official. The questions of these citizens stem entirely from their hope that Palestinian-Syrian relations will transcend the difficulties and impediments obstructing them and the factors which act to entrench such obstacles, in order to serve the interest of the Palestinian and Syrian peoples and the entire Arab nation. This applies especially to the Arab liberation movement, considering that the PLO is the vanguard of the Arab liberation movements and that Syria is a primary source of support for most of these movements.

Questions regarding Palestinian-Syrian relations have in fact increased clearly in recent weeks, especially when the Palestinian president announced recently that relations with Syria are currently impossible, whereas Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shara' several days later stated that Palestinian-Syrian relations can be improved and restored to their disposition prior to this inactive period. On 1 September, Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat met his Syrian counterpart, Hafiz al-Asad, in connection with the celebrations of the Libyan, Arab Jamahiriyyah of the 20th anniversary of the First of September Revolution in 1969. During the meeting, which was friendly, the two presidents discussed recent developments regarding the Palestinian problem and ways to assure an end to the Lebanese crisis, which serves the interests of the Arab nation and preserves the unity of Lebanese lands and the Lebanese people. They also discussed a number of joint issues and problems.

Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat also met with Syrian Vice-President 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam, the head of the Syrian delegation at the 9th Nonaligned Nations Summit held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Participants in the meeting included executive committee members Faruq al-Qaddumi and Abu-'Ali Mustafa. The two parties discussed the same topics discussed at the Tripoli, Libya summit, and completed unfinished business pertaining to these topics, especially the normalization of bilateral relations. Another meeting was subsequently held between Syrian Vice-President 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam and Faruq al-Qaddumi, which was described by observers as warm and friendly, inasmuch as the two embraced warmly and entered the meeting room grasping each others' hands. Commenting on the meeting, Vice-President 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam stated that a meeting between President 'Arafat and President al-Asad was possible in principle.

We at AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI, as part of the Palestinian people, observe events and try to convey them factually and reliably to the masses of our people in the occupied territories. We hope that Palestinian-Syrian relations will return to their previous state of cooperation and consultation, conditioned by mutual respect, noninterference in the internal affairs of the other party, and service of the interests of the two fraternal peoples and the peoples of the Arab nation without exception.

We believe that this hope is justified under the current circumstances attending the Palestinian problem and the general Arab situation, particularly the Lebanese crisis and the Arab and Syrian positions on it. We believe that these circumstances have prompted President al-Asad and members of his government to re-examine their way of dealing with the Palestinian problem and the Palestinian leadership. The most important of these circumstances are as follows: The significant success achieved by the PLO in the Palestinian and international spheres regarding its political proposals to bring peace to the Middle East region based on recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

In the Palestinian sphere, the PLO was able to reunify the largest of its groups operating in the Palestinian arena at the Palestine National Council meeting in Algiers in 1987 and in its recent meeting in the same place, in which national unity was established in a firm and integrated manner based on the announcement of the Palestinian peace initiative. Concurrently, the role of Palestinian groups based in Damascus has diminished significantly, such that their internal and external activity has become nearly non-existent, as clearly indicated by the absence of political or even military activity on the part of these groups. In addition, the followers of these groups in the interior are not members of the unified uprising command. Consequently, their role does not go beyond individual participation in the events of the intifadah. There is indication of a need for these groups to return the PLO, or for several of them to merge with the mother groups from which they split, based on the same foundations which underpinned the merger of elements of the Leninist cadre with its mother party, the Palestinian Communist Party, in early September 1989.

In the international sphere, there is widespread international support for the Palestinian peace initiative and the convocation of an international Middle East peace conference. This support was evident at the Casablanca Arab Summit, the Nonaligned Summit, and the Islamic Conference Summit, and in the statement issued by the European Common Market states in Madrid. It is also evident in the Soviet Union's full support of the Palestinian peace course.

Developments in the Palestinian and international spheres are compelling the Syrian president to reexamine his way of dealing with the PLO in order to eliminate discord in the Arab and international arena and in his dealings with the PLO.

Relations between the PLO and Arab governments have improved noticeably, especially with states which previously comprised the steadfastness and resistance front. This is inasmuch as these relations have become based on the granting of full support to whatever the Palestinian leadership chooses and deems appropriate to achieve the established goals of the Palestinian national struggle, and inasmuch as relations with the Libyan Jamahiriyyah have improved significantly. They have improved to the extent that Colonel al-Qadhafi invited the Palestinian president to attend the celebrations of the First of September Revolution, whereas Palestinian groups outside the PLO, which have been traditional allies of Col al-Qadhafi, did not attend.

This development must also prompt Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad to contemplate the need for not deviating from the Arab consensus in dealing with the Palestinian problem and the PLO leadership, given that the Palestinian problem is in many ways dissimilar to the Lebanese problem.

Another factor to be considered by President al-Asad is the general Arab position on Lebanon's crisis and Syria's presence in Lebanon. This position is expressed ambiguously in the call for Syria to withdraw from Lebanon, which was made in the latest declaration of the Arab committee of three. It is expressed unambiguously and strongly in the position of Iraq. The Syrian president needs Palestinian support for Syria's presence in Lebanon, because the Palestinian position affects the Lebanese internal arena militarily and politically, as well as the Arab arena, insofar as this position influences the positions of several Arab states and liberation movements and Lebanese parties in one way or another.

Reality states that Syria requires a Palestinian position which supports, or is neutral toward, its presence in Lebanon, particularly after the Iraqi and Jordanian position on the Lebanese crisis became evident when Jordan permitted the transit of Iraqi weapons through its territory on the way to Michel 'Awn's military government, which is hostile toward Syria's presence in Lebanon. That led to a sharp dispute between Syrian and Jordanian officials, which resulted in a difference of opinion and Syrian efforts to pressure Jordan to neutralize its position on the Lebanese crisis. The most significant of these efforts were the operations launched across the Jordanian border against Israeli forces.

Thus, Syria must also neutralize the Palestinian position, not by making threats, but by making concessions favorable to the Palestinian leadership, especially regarding the Palestinian political course, the Palestinian peace initiative, and Palestinian prisoners in Syria. Such concessions will provide a basis for mutual respect in bilateral relations and non-intervention in internal affairs. This is what we hope to obtain as quickly as possible, especially since the Palestinian position on Lebanon is based on supporting Lebanon's unity in terms of territory and people, avoiding alignment with one group to the exclusion of another, and providing guidance and help to all Lebanese people, the natural partner of the Palestinian people in its national struggle for decades.

Hence, we believe that the chances are good for holding a new summit meeting between the Palestinian and Syrian presidents to normalize bilateral relations in a well-studied manner far from the effects of past events, so as to serve general Palestinian political activity aimed at holding an international Middle East peace conference in which all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict—headed by the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—would participate on an equal footing, to serve the interests of the Palestinian and Syrian fraternal peoples and the entire Arab nation.

However, a large question remains: Will this occur, and can recent Palestinian-Syrian meetings suffice to transform our hopes into reality, based on the circumstances which we indicated? Again, we trust that hopes will become reality in everything pertaining to Palestinian-Arab relations, especially Palestinian-Syrian relations at

all levels, Palestinian, Arab, and international, although the answer to this question remains the hostage of the coming days and perhaps months.

EGYPT

Butrus Ghali on African Issues, Recent Meetings

90OA0070A Cairo AKHIR SA'AH
in Arabic 18 Oct 89 pp 10-11

[Interview with Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Butrus Ghali, in Cairo: "Dr Butrus Ghali Gives Accounting of Egyptian Diplomatic Initiative"; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[AKHIR SA'AH] Over a period of more than three weeks, you, Mr Minister, undertook widespread activities and numerous contacts, both in Europe and in the United States. Can you shed some light on the nature of your multifaceted mission to Paris, Washington, New York, and Geneva?

[Ghali] Despite the fact that my visit this time was to Europe and then across the Atlantic to the United States, African issues and concerns were the most common denominator in all the contacts I made, the meetings and conferences that I held or participated in, or the lectures that I delivered. [passage omitted]

In order to conclude this effort, after my arrival in New York, I held a meeting with the director of the UN's development program, who is undertaking several feasibility studies and regional development plans in various fields for the Nile River Basin countries. These include water channels, energy, and river communications. [passage omitted]

As for Geneva, which was the last stop on my recent trip, I had talks with Kenneth Dadzi, the secretary general of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], in order to study UNCTAD's [United Nations Conference on Trade and Development] participation in implementing the UN program for economic revival and growth in Africa for the years 1987 to 1990.

This was aside from the talks I had in New York and Washington with a number of my fellow foreign ministers of African nations, and heads of specialized organizations and agencies, about actions we should take in Africa.

Accordingly, Africa has been and will continue to be a focus of interest and concern to Egyptian diplomacy, and especially during this year, because President Mubarak is chairing the OAU [Organization of African Unity] and speaking on Africa's behalf in all the international forums and world capitals that he visits.

Quadripartite Initiative: What Is Its Goal?

[AKHIR SA'AH] What precisely is the content of the quadripartite initiative that President Mubarak initiated, along with the presidents of Senegal and Venezuela and the Indian Prime Minister last July in Paris? What is this initiative's goal in light of current international developments?

[Ghali] In recent years, the world has seen important and fundamental developments on the international scene and in the African arena that point to a new era of international relations. This forces us to pursue and prepare for that era, so as to provide an appropriate climate to safeguard the rights of nations, both small and large, and to strengthen everyone's role in that process, which not only concerns the large or northern nations, but is also tied in with the future of all mankind, especially since the problems that the Third World faces in the economic arena still await agreement on some reasonable framework to counter them effectively.

Therefore President Mubarak, together with the three leaders of friendly emerging nations, submitted the idea of a need to revive the dialogue between north and south, work to enrich it and achieve comprehension in understanding the issues and dealing with problems that jointly concern both sides.

Perhaps the impetus to this initiative will be expressed by the Third World's people welcoming this positive development, which presages the coming of a new era in the history of international relations, since those people still suffer greatly from fears and suspicions. Those fears and doubts spring basically from the feelings of the Third World people that the detente that is underway these days is still concentrated to a large degree on relations between the superpowers, that its positive reflection has not yet penetrated to the bedrock of the general international situation, and that it does not tangibly extend to the conditions of the Third World, especially the economic conditions and those serious social, environmental, and political problems that are associated with them. [passage omitted]

On the other hand, at the Ninth Summit Conference of the nonaligned nations, which was held in Belgrade in early September 1989, that same problem attracted considerable interest and was placed in the forefront of that movement's priorities. This occurred because the views of the conferring heads of state, who represented more than two-thirds of the world's leaders, agreed on the need to tackle the economic problem in the Third World in a practical and effective manner, and to face up to its increasing gravity and deterioration in recent years. This has come about as a result of the deterioration in international trade conditions, the downslide in profits of international commodities, governmental customs and other restrictions placed on the exports of emerging nations, the weakening of financial outlays for investment and development, the increase of debt burdens, and the contrasting removal of revenues. This has

occurred to such a degree that the problem before many Third World nations—and especially the African states—is no longer a problem of growth and development, but rather has become a problem of survival, in every sense of that word.

As did the African summit conference last July, the nonaligned conference referred to the importance of entering into a fruitful dialogue with the advanced industrial nations about the basic economic issues, and it welcomed the quadripartite initiative, which we submitted in Paris during the Seven Industrialized Nations' summit conference.

As regards the advanced nations, France has expressed from the very first its sympathy with the Third World's position, and in fact has committed itself to promoting the initiative with the rest of the seven advanced nations. Its efforts are bearing fruit, because the initiative is now supported by Japan, Canada, West Germany, and Italy. Moreover, the United States has begun to understand its dimensions. [passage omitted]

Mediation Between Mauritania and Senegal

[AKHIR SA'AH] What have been the results of the meetings of the Special African Committee on the dispute between Mauritania and Senegal? What is your evaluation of the progress made by the mediation efforts of President Husni Mubarak and the African Committee with regard to settling this dispute?

[Ghali] [passage omitted] One can say that the contacts I have made in France and the United States have clearly shown the interest of the major powers in Egypt's efforts to reach a peaceful solution to the crisis and their support for these efforts.

It is well known that the mediation efforts to solve this complicated dispute, which has historic roots in the very bedrock of relations between the Mauritanian and Senegalese people, are still at the beginning of a long road. Or rather, one could say that they are still in a stage of ascertaining the facts of the dispute and the various and multifaceted problems which mark this dispute. Perhaps this fact is what impelled the African committee to decide to increase contacts between the two parties to this dispute, or rather, to visit the two sides and study the matter on the spot, before making a decision on the nature of the solution desired for the dispute. [passage omitted]

Dimensions of Afro-Arab Cooperation

[AKHIR SA'AH] Egypt took part in the 11th session of the Permanent Committee for Afro-Arab Cooperation, which was held concurrent with the present UN General Assembly session. Can you shed some light on Afro-Arab cooperation and the dimensions expected in the future?

[Ghali] [passage omitted] The recent OAU ministerial conference elected Egypt to the seat vacated several years ago by Morocco's withdrawal from the OAU. At the 11th

session, held in New York on 6 October 1989, the committee expressed its warm welcome regarding Egypt's membership on this committee. The Kuwaiti foreign minister and the foreign minister of Burkina-Fasso, the joint chairmen of the session, noted the Egypt's resumption of membership on the Permanent Committee for Afro-Arab Cooperation constituted support for cooperation efforts, in view of Egypt's efforts and its important role in this regard, especially since Egypt hosted the first Afro-Arab summit in 1977. That was the summit that drew up the first charter for Afro-Arab cooperation. [passage omitted]

It is well known that President Mubarak is especially concerned with the need to strive to bolster and reinforce Afro-Arab cooperation as one of the most prominent goals of Egyptian diplomacy, because Egypt believes in the benefit and effectiveness of this cooperation between the two communities, which are bound together by bonds of history, culture and mutual interests, and because of what they can achieve with respect to deepening the cooperation between the two parties. This constitutes the prologue required for successful cooperation between north and south, which we aspire to achieve for the benefit of human society as a whole.

[AKHIR SA'AH] In Geneva, Mr Minister, you had contacts with the chairman of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the director general of the High Commission for Refugees. What topics did you discuss with these two international organizations?

[Ghali] My meetings with these two organizations, for which Geneva is headquarters, were devoted to the subject of the Mauritanian-Senegalese dispute, because one must note that this bloody dispute has highlighted a number of humanitarian problems on both sides, and the problem of refugees and emigrants from both countries has emerged. My conversations in the ICRC [International Committee to the Red Cross] and the High Commission for Refugees were not just to obtain the assistance required to lessen the consequences of these various problems that have stemmed from the incidents of last April between Mauritania and Senegal, but also to work to ensure a solution for these problems in the future. This is so that their effects can be overcome and relations between the two countries can return to their normal state, achieving the good-neighbor relations that should exist between those two brotherly peoples.

Opposition Meeting Encourages Unified Front

900A0102A Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI
in Arabic 23 Oct 89 pp 48-49

[Article by 'Abd-al-'Azim Darwish: "Will Opposition Succeed This Time in Creating 5 February Model; Opposition Symbols Meet To Issue Democratic Reform Declaration; Husayn 'Abd-al-Razzaq: Experience Has Proven to Us That Unified Action Is Necessary"]

[Text] The 'Abidin opposition conference, held by the opposition parties on 5 February 1987—a conference

which they have not been able to repeat to date—continues to be the model for the unified action which all the parties seek to achieve anew.

Despite the assertions contained in the statements the opposition leaders and commands have made on various occasions about the need to restore the unification slogan to the forefront of their relations, the disagreements and disputes dominating the opposition parties' relations have not given them the chance to bring such unified action into the light, even though a number of opposition leaders have made ceaseless endeavors on various occasions in the past 2 years to recreate the "5 February model." This chance has not arisen because of the disputes that ordinarily dig their talons into party relations during preparations for general elections, the latest of which were the Consultative Council elections, held on the 8th of last June. Those elections witnessed a new chapter of such disputes because of the insistence of the alliance parties—Labor, Liberals, and Muslim Brotherhood—to wage the elections, whereas al-Wafd and the Grouping boycotted them.

Last Sunday's meeting at al-Wafd Party headquarters, attended by the chairmen of all the political parties and representatives of all the political and national forces, to discuss a proposed democratic reform document drafted by a committee which included representatives of the various political forces, may be a new step by the opposition parties to bring the unification slogan to the forefront of their relations.

This new step is of special significance in the movement toward unified action that combines the opposition parties. It is also different from previous endeavors for several reasons which we will sum up in the following:

- Nearly all the parties have become convinced of the need to coordinate their positions, especially in light of the dangers of dissension that are threatening all of them. This dissension is embodied in the developments that started at the beginning of the year with the Labor Party, and have swept the Liberal and al-Ummah Party so far, and are now threatening the al-Wafd Party. Observers think it likely that the beginning of next year will see the eruption of such developments within the Grouping Party by way of the third congress which the party will hold, and which will witness election of the party leaderships.
- [First part of sentence missing] to restore a unified form, especially since it is not expected that general elections will be held at this time or in the near future, and such elections are always a spark that ignites disputes among the parties.

The dream of leadership is tickling all party leaders and commands, especially in the wake of the recent positive moves made by Engineer Ibrahim Shukri to unite the opposition ranks and factions so as to reaffirm his leadership of the parliamentary opposition. Moreover, Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, al-Wafd Party chairman, has become

fully certain that any party can swerve from the commitment to adhere to the line embraced by the "basha" toward the various issues. This will motivate Siraj-al-Din to turn to the opposition parties in the hope of restoring his leadership over them.

Within this context, Husayn 'Abd-al-Razzaq, the Grouping Party's popular activity secretary and a member of the committee which drafted the democratic reform document, has expressed his belief that in light of the meeting held last Sunday, all the parties have become fully convinced of the importance of common action by all the parties and political forces on the issue of democracy and human rights.

In response to a question on the "From the Opposition Papers" page, pointing out the charge accusing the opposition parties of suddenly abandoning what they agree upon—a charge supported by the parties' past practices—Husayn 'Abd-al-Razzaq said that the disagreement experience has always accompanied the elections. But in light of yesterday's meeting, the results have convinced nearly everybody that these elections, with the methods and means used to conduct them, no longer merit sacrificing the formula of common action by the opposition parties.

Regarding a second uniform charge accusing the opposition parties of devoting special attention to issues that are totally remote from the ordinary citizen, as proven by the document which is being currently debated by the opposition parties and which focuses on democratic guarantees without touching on the masses' real problems, the Grouping's popular activity secretary said: "Experience has convinced all of us that it is impossible to tackle any popular problem without insuring the minimum degree of democracy and human rights. All the past efforts to confront the masses' various economic and social problems ran into the government's total rejection of such efforts. Therefore, the real inlet to solving the problems is democratic reform."

The document contains fundamental demands which are tantamount to no more than a rephrasing of the 5 February 1987 resolutions and recommendations which can be summed up in the following:

First, immediate abolition of the state of emergency and amendment of the emergency law so as to curtail the constitutional authorities' right to declare a state of emergency, [except] in case of actual war and general catastrophes alone, diminish the military ruler's powers during the state of emergency, and abolish the president's and interior minister's right to object to the courts' rulings and decisions.

Second, work to establish a democratic constitution that makes the nation a true source of authority and that concentrates executive power in the hands of a cabinet accountable to a parliamentary assembly chosen by free and impartial election, instead of concentrating this

authority in the hands of the head of state, provided that the constitution preserve the socialist gains and society's fundamental mainstays.

Third, abolish the law regulating the political parties and release the freedom of forming parties without any restrictions or conditions, except for military organizations.

Fourth, abolish the press authority law, release the freedom of newspaper publication, and abolish the Consultative Council's control of the press establishments so as to insure their independence and guarantee the freedom of expression.

Fifth, work to crystallize the people's will in free and impartial elections that restore to the people their right to select and dismiss their rulers and representatives through the polling box. This should be done through securing a number of guarantees, especially by:

- Fully lifting the executive authority's, local government agencies', and Ministry of Interior's control of the general elections and letting the judiciary take sole control of the entire election process through a supreme judiciary committee that controls all the local and security agencies whose work is connected with the elections, including the nomination, voting, and counting phase, up to announcement of the results.
- Abolishing the current voter lists which do not in any way reflect the Egyptian people and preparing these lists according to the civil register.
- Unifying the election regulations for all the parliamentary councils, beginning with the local councils and ending with the People's Assembly, by eliminating the system of election by the conditional relative party list and absolute list.
- Letting voters cast their votes on the basis of the personal or family identity card and requiring them to sign their names or stamp their thumbprint next to their name on the voter list.
- Redividing the election districts on an objective basis to be agreed upon with the political parties' representatives.
- Entrusting the Appellate Court to investigate and make the final decision on any appeals made on the outcome of the general elections.
- Imposing stiff penalties for forgery, manipulation, or intervention in general elections.

Sixth, work to abolish the so-called ill-reputed laws which restrict the liberties and violate the constitution.

Seventh, work to issue a law that protects the citizens' right to belong to parties, the freedom of forming associations, and the citizens' right to congregate and to stage peaceful demonstrations and strikes.

Eighth, guarantee the citizens' social liberties, especially the right of all citizens to work, to fair wages, to social security, to medical care, and to organize.

Nasirist Party Issues Statement on Rights Abuse 90OA0125B Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 18 Oct 89 p 19

[Article: "Nasirist Party Condemns Military Governor's Decrees Regarding Opinion Cases"]

[Text] The Nasirist Arab Socialist Party, which is in the process of being established, issued a statement condemning the military governor's recent practices, in the course of which it was decided that trials would be held once again for a number of politicians who had been accused in political cases.

The party's statement said, "The Nasirist Arab Socialist Party is watching with grave concern the blunt and blatant attacks against public liberties and citizens' basic rights which are being witnessed by Egyptian society. The government is carrying out these attacks against the various classes and political forces of the people's movement by becoming engaged in an uninterrupted series of repressive practices which are not limited to the emergency law, which is now prescribed in our country. Nor do these repressive practices end with brutal torture and a policy of repression and collective punishment: these have become an authorized and an established method for security agencies. The government's repressive practices also went beyond using the legislative system to serve its repressive policies, whose brutality and barbarism reached such a level. The consequences could be disastrous."

The statement from the Nasirist Party added, "In this regard the party has been following the frequent announcements made recently about the military governor's use of his powers to approve or not to approve verdicts rendered by the courts in cases which have to do with opinions and public liberties. The military governor has used these powers to tighten the hold of oppression and terrorism on all the political forces of the people's movement in our country. He started by announcing that he would sign a verdict which was issued 8 years ago, finding a number of citizens guilty in a case of public liberties. At the same time he reversed the decision in two other cases in which the defendants had been acquitted. The military governor did not approve the verdict in these two cases. Instead, he ordered a retrial in both. One of these two cases is called the case of the Armed Nasirist Organization and the other has to do with the railroad workers' strike. The verdict in that case acquired special importance because it revealed that the right to strike was a legitimate right and that citizens had an inalienable, legal, and constitutional right to strike."

The statement stated, "As our party strongly condemns all these practices which contribute daily to the continuing erosion of the limited and superficial freedom of speech which we have in our country, it affirms that none of this repression, no matter how much the methods and forms of repression are stepped up, can suppress the wrath which is being felt by the masses of our people who are bearing the burden of declining living conditions for citizens.

"Our party also warns those who have been misled into believing that repression is useful in keeping a lid on the government's problems, which are the result of its economic, social, and political policies. Our party warns these people that continuing on this path will add a new cause for the blowup to those which already exist. Those who have been unjust will then know what an upheaval they have caused."

Scholars Claim Research Institutes Ineffective

900A0097A Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 1 Nov 89 p 3

[Article: "294 Research Centers in Egypt...What Have They Produced?"]

[Text] Now that science has dominated modern life and provided the solutions to the problems of society, questions arise...what solutions have the scientific research centers in Egypt offered to the problems with which we are afflicted? There are 294 centers for scientific research in Egypt covering all fields. What solutions have they offered to the problems with which Egyptian society is afflicted?! There are likewise about 19,430 doctorate and master's theses in the research centers which are still buried in drawers bewailing their fate! Even though we have provided loans and grants for them in the millions, and even though we have employed for them an army of 44,604 researchers who work in the research centers! Have the research centers turned into "homes for civil servants" even though those concerned with them are among the first graduates?

Dr 'Ali-al-Din al-Sharbini, the deputy chief for research projects of the National Center for Research, asserts that the center carried out three types of research projects: internal projects, which in 1988/89 amounted to 54 research projects which covered many of the industrial, agricultural, and health fields, the utilization of power and natural resources, engineering and heredity and environment, and which cost 423,926 Egyptian pounds. Examples are the project to develop and administer cultivable lands recently, the comprehensive elimination of eye diseases among infants, the development of the natural resources in the Sinai Peninsula, the uses of regenerated power to develop the remote regions, evaluating the waters of the Nile River in greater Cairo, better use of industrial waste in the ceramic industry, and solar batteries made of silicone. There are also the local projects to serve sectors of production and services, which number 42 and have cost 856,347 Egyptian pounds, such as the project for the discovery and cultivation of types of vegetation resistant to scorching and drought in the Sinai, promoting the production of bananas, producing some medicinal chemicals as a substitute for what is imported, and studying the affect of asbestos on drinking water. There are also the foreign projects in cooperation with other countries—15 projects which cost 487,073 Egyptian pounds, the most important of them being with Germany, Canada, America, and the European [Common] Market.

Dr 'Ali-al-Din al-Sharbini adds that, despite that large number of research projects, it unfortunately has not been productive, and he asserts that only this year did we begin to direct our attention to solving Egypt's industrial problems and present the projects to the quarters concerned so that they can use them and solve their problems. Unfortunately those quarters are not resorting to us unless they are compelled to do so for lack of resources and a ban on importation. For example, there is the problem of the "seaweed encrustation" to which Egyptian ships are exposed. The navigation companies did not have recourse to us until they were compelled to because of the nonexistence of the imported replacement, which they have imported for years, despite the existence of the local product which is not inferior in any way. Dr 'Ali-al-Din al-Sharbini attributes this to the information blackout on the role of the research centers, in addition to the isolation of those research centers from the community and the lack of interest in solving its problems!

Dr 'Ali-al-Din al-Sharbini demands that there be trade and information cadres to market the research projects and tie the research centers to the community. But in the shadow of the present strife and lack of coordination among the research centers, they will continue to be ineffectual. Dr 'Ali-al-Din al-Sharbini cites as an example of this strife and lack of coordination among the research centers, the existence of two centers for research in one area, that being the area of al-Tabayyun in Hulwan. The two centers are performing the same role, and they are: the Metals Institute of the Ministry of Industry and the Metals Institute of the Ministry of Scientific Research!!

As regards converting the research which is going on inside the research centers into reality, Dr 'Adil 'Abd-al-Dayim, the deputy chief of the National Center for Research for Technical Affairs, says that the work to turn that research into practical reality requires:

- Defining the extent of appropriateness of the research from the technological standpoint and translating that into the scientific implementing mode.
- Defining the extent of availability of the raw materials which the research needs and whether we have these or they must be imported from abroad.
- Carrying out a benefits study from the technical and economic standpoint to determine the requirements for applying the research, such as the machinery and equipment and services, and defining the specifications of the project and the production cost and the extent of benefits from the project from the economic standpoint, keeping in mind the other aspects on the basis of which the call for the product is defined.
- Translating instructional steps into productive industrial steps. That is what is known as converting research from the instructional level to the semi-industrial level.
- In light of the results of the research, technical and engineering data should be obtained to transform the research and incorporate it in actual production.

- Setting up, installing, and putting into operation the production unit, after which the stages of putting it into operation will be completed.

Thereby we will be able, as centers for scientific research, to participate in serving and solving the problems of society by scientific means.

Scientific Strategy Is Lacking!

Despite the existence of the Agricultural Branch in the National Center for Research, there are the Agricultural Research Centers, which consist of fifteen centers, institutes, and workshops and include 700 PhD's, 1,300 holders of master's degrees, and 3,000 researchers who hold college qualifications—agricultural and veterinary baccalaureates. During the 5-year plan for the years 1982/83-1986/87, the Agricultural Research Centers undertook 273 research projects.

In spite of this appalling number of projects, Professor Dr Rashad Abu-al-'Aynayn, the director of the Field Crop Research Institute, asserts that there are obstacles preventing the use of the results of those projects and making them confined within the walls of the workshops and instructional fields, and they are:

- The nonlinkage of the researchers in the various fields to the work as a complementary unit
- The results of the scientific research not reaching the farms
- The instructors not training the farmers
- The lack of connection among the various state apparatuses concerned with agriculture
- The requisites of production not reaching the peasants at the right time.

Dr Rashad Abu-al-'Aynayn adds that there must be a long-range plan for scientific research in Egypt, and not just short-range plans which change in no time, and that plan must be formulated within Egypt and not outside under pressure from the countries granting the loans, who undertake to devise and formulate scientific research plans in Egypt to serve their interests only!

The Centers Do Not Know Their Goals

Dr Isma'il Ahmad al-Jum'ah, the principal researcher in the waste section in the Animal Production Research Institute, insists that there must be a firm general plan for scientific research in Egypt which will serve the goals of long-range growth and not change pursuant to policies or personalities. He explains that the lack of benefit from the studies and research which the research centers are undertaking is due to the lack of coordination among the research centers and interference with them, in addition to the plurality of the quarters which carry out the same research. For example, in the field of serving animal production, there are many outfits which are interested in this question without coordination among them. In fact, there is conflict and repetition, in addition to the lack of knowledge by the outfits concerned in the research centers of what exactly is desired that they try to

accomplish. In fact, there is stumbling and conflict. Dr Isma'il Ahmad al-Jum'ah demands that there be a scientific committee with specific experience in animal production to draft a firm policy and proceed to implement it. He points to the attempts which the institute made to overcome the problem of fodders and inventing nontraditional fodders and to use various wastes for cultivating that. But, as a result of the lack of confidence in the role of the government, basically, on the part of the peasants or the breeders, and because of the lack of information about the role of the institute, those attempts which the institute made to produce nontraditional fodder achieved no tangible success!

He demands that the time of the scientists and researchers be saved by appointing technicians in sufficient numbers to assist them in performing the research and carrying out the administrative functions so that the scientists are not distracted from their basic mission, which is scientific research. Dr 'Assam al-Maliji, the researcher in the crime laboratories department of the National Center for Social and Criminal Research, complains that the center carried out many studies and much research, during which it predicted the challenges which stem from the problems with which Egyptian society is afflicted, such as the problem of addiction. But unfortunately, no attention was paid to the results of those studies, and he wonders whether there is really faith in science's role in serving society!

Dr 'Assam al-Maliji asserts that the method being followed to solve our problems is the "day by day" method, that is, confronting the problem when it appears and not being prepared for it. He denies the existence of a long-range plan for long-range improvement.

Dr 'Assam al-Maliji is astonished that the modification of the drugs law came not as a logical result of the studies and research of the National Center for Social and Criminal Research into the problems of drugs and addiction in Egypt, and their negative repercussions and the danger to society, but as a result of the problem's getting out of control and reaching alarming proportions. He wonders whether the studies of the center and other research centers will remain buried in drawers and whether the research centers will continue to be ineffectual. Or will those studies, which number in the thousands, emerge to pursue their mission in solving the problems of society!

Shoe Exports Decline Due to Shoddy Standards

90OA0093A Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH
in Arabic 13 Oct 89 p 4

[Article by Hani Salih: "Leather Association Refuses Shoe Standards"]

[Text] Prices of shoes have gone up, but their quality deteriorates. As of now, we have no standards for Egyptian shoes, which results in offering inferior types at high prices. Despite the lapse of five months since the end of the grace period that Minister of Industry Engineer

Muhammad 'Abd-al-Wahhab set for implementing the shoe standardization measure, the Leather Association still refuses to carry out this decree.

The General Standardization Board has decided to begin campaigns in the shoe factories and production workshops to follow up on adherence to the specifications and to arrest violators. Consumers' doubts have been raised over the increase of shoe prices and decline in quality, while shop merchants rig prices and reap exorbitant profits.

What do the experts say?

Monitoring Shoe Factories

Dr. Muhammad Hilal, chairman of the Standardization Board, says that the campaigns to monitor shoe factories will begin during the next few days, in order to supervise factory compliance with shoe specifications and to protect consumers.

He said that the Egyptian shoe industry has lost its quality, due to lack of shoe standards, and that shoe exports have declined, because the local market offers shoddy goods for export. He added that certain professionals are not adhering to any standards in the Egyptian shoe industry and offer markets inferior types, under the auspices of certain merchants who are making big profits!

The chairman of the Standardization Board emphasizes that the Egyptian shoe industry could provide an opportunity for work. However, this industry is declining, resulting in a dwindling labor force. He stresses that the Ministry of Industry will shortly compel the Egyptian shoe industry to adhere to minimum quality standards.

The chairman of the Standardization Board admits that standardized specifications abroad are not necessary due to consumer awareness, which results in rejecting shoddy goods. Enforcement is done through large fines and legal actions against the owners of the goods.

Leather Association Rejects Standardization Decree

The chairman of the Standardization Board said that the Board has agreed to some of the Leather Association's subjective observations regarding the Industry Minister's measure, and that the Leather Association has been notified of these observations.

Representatives of the Leather Association were invited to a joint meeting for the purpose of issuing executive measures, but they refused to attend the meeting, so that they could protest against the executive decisions on grounds of their not being in attendance! The Leather Association is headed by Kamal Hafiz Ramadan.

Standards To Benefit the Craftsmen

The chairman of the Standardization Board emphasized that these shoe standards were issued to benefit the small

manufacturer, and that they protect the small manufacturer from the big merchants for the following reasons:

- They compel the small manufacturer to use good quality raw materials and not deal in shoddy goods.
- They correct methods of manufacturing shoes that are not in conformity with specifications, in cooperation with the Leather Association.

He said that it was impossible to draw up shoe specifications if one concentrated on controlling production needs without choosing what the shoe's function would be. He added that applying a shoe tax would not cost the factories anything, and that they could do testing in the factories if they had machines available to test shoe performance.

Applying Standards a Necessity

The chairman of the Standardization Board pointed out that the Leather Association's objection to the principle of standardized specifications was rejected, and that the Leather Association has an important role in enlightening the small manufacturer about sound methods in manufacturing shoes. Moreover, large commercial outlets must be compelled to test shoe quality before receiving shoddy kinds of shoes from unknown sources for the purpose of making a quick profit. He asked why the Bata Company has not been forced to have specific standards for shoes, as well as other companies that manufacture shoes, when they are under contract with governmental agencies.

Standards To Safeguard the Consumer

Yahya al-Muqaddam, president of the al-Nasr Leather Company, says that setting a minimum standard for shoe serviceability would protect the skilled manufacturer and also safeguard the consumer. Implementing shoe standards would result in the manufacturer choosing good quality raw materials for his shoes, and he pointed out that the difference between a good shoe and a cheap one lies in the use of imitation or genuine leather.

He added that monitoring quality production needs, such as leather, cord, and adhesive materials, is not a substitute for controlling the quality of shoes as a final product. The natural process is to control all stages of shoe production.

He said that inspectors of industrial control and standardization are withdrawing samples from factories of the production company of various types of shoes that are supplied to the police, armed forces, and the factories.

Quality Required for Export

The president of the al-Nasr Leather Company added that attention to production quality and opening areas of export will lead to the return of the traditional markets for Egyptian shoes abroad. He pointed out that the ban on exporting leather has resulted in the decline of the

Egyptian market and the Egyptian manufacturer, in terms of pursuing the international market and world fashions and, therefore, Egyptian shoes have become inferior.

He stated that the business of leather products and shoes in Egypt is valued at approximately 1 billion Egyptian pounds, but that the size of present exports equals no more than 3 percent of that total!

Al-Muqaddam responded to shoe merchants by saying that the rise in shoe prices was due to big profits by those merchants and was not the result of rising leather costs. In his opinion, the percentage of leather in the cost of shoes is not the biggest factor, because the largest share in the cost of shoes is the price margin and the manufacturing costs.

Twenty-nine Percent Profit for Women's Shoes

Muhammad Ghanim, owner of a Qasr al-Nil street emporium, stated that the profit from women's shoes is 29 percent, while it is 22 percent from men's shoes. He said that the Association has determined this profit margin for the past 30 years.

Ghanim thinks that the increase in shoe prices reflects the increase in leather costs, and the rise of the U.S. dollar, which has led to an increase in the burden of imported production needs. This situation has resulted in a decline of sales and sluggish markets. The strange thing is that they are still clinging to their big profits! 'Abd-al-Hamid Mustafa, owner of a 'Imad al-Din street shop, says that some manufacturers are using inferior raw materials in order to reduce the cost of shoes, but at the expense of quality.

Support the Cooperative Societies

Chemist Yahya al-Muqaddim, president of the al-Nasr Leather Company, suggests a need to support the shoe cooperatives through creation of exhibitions and sales outlets, and to provide them with cash liquidity. If this was done, they could adhere to shoe standards, and their products would not be displayed only in the Bata Company.

He added that it was difficult to impose a minimum standard on manufacturers of Egyptian shoes because of the number of models and the large number of manufacturers, especially the small, unlicensed workshops, which are difficult to make adhere to set standards.

Taha 'Abd-al-Fattah, the owner of a shoe workshop, says that the recent increase in leather costs was behind the large rise in shoe prices. He thinks that a limited number of leather merchants control the leather trade and are behind the random increase in shoe prices. Ahmad Fu'ad 'Abdu, a shoe factory owner, says that most of the components of shoes are imported, and that the import burdens have led to increased shoe prices.

Lake Nasser Seismic Activity Reported as Related to Low Water

900A0090C Cairo *AKHIR SA'AH*
in Arabic 25 Oct 89 p 56

[Article by Diya' 'Abd-al-Hamid and Jamal 'Awad]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

Lake Nasser and Seismic Activity

What about the seismic activity in Lake Nasser?

Dr Rashid al-Qubay'i said that Lake Nasser in Aswan is monitored by scientific instruments 24 hours a day to record seismic activity in any location. Two stations to record tremors were set up in 1975, one of which is north of the city of Aswan, and the other is practically in the center of the city of Abu-Simbal. These two stations have not recorded a tremor of more than 2.8 on the Richter scale.

In June 1982, an advanced network consisting of 13 stations distributed around the northern part of Lake Nasser was set up. These stations have the capability to record very small tremors, which are transmitted by radio waves to the earthquake center, which analyzes them and measures their depth from the surface of the ground, their mechanical strength, and their relationship to the water level of the lake or the underground waters around the lake.

Dr Rashid al-Qubay'i confirms that the lake is hit by stronger earthquakes when the water level in it is low. In June 1987 a big drop in the water level in the lake was noted, and that was accompanied by a very big seismic storm. [passage omitted]

Coexisting With Earthquakes

But what has to be done from the engineering standpoint to counter earthquakes in Egypt?

He [Dr Muhammad 'Izzat Sabih] replied that until a short while ago, all buildings and installations were not designed to be earthquake resistant. Therefore, what needs to be done is to consider designing new installations, especially the vital ones such as sewer systems that cost in the billions, and the larger projects. [passage omitted]

Columnist Disputes Democratic Progress Under Mubarak

900A0072A Cairo *AL-SHA'B* in Arabic
17 Oct 89 pp 1, 2

[Editorial by 'Adil Husayn: "The Crisis of Democracy and the Political Decision"]

[Excerpts] In greeting the ninth year of Mubarak's presidency (October 14), successive editorials spoke of the successes of recent years. Writers for official papers concentrated very little on the subject of democracy,

except for Ibrahim Sa'adah, who wrote at length on the subject. I believe that those who ignored the issue of democracy did not do so out of neglect or error—it is difficult to deceive any writer. The truth is that democratic progress was suspended, and then began to disappear.

Beginning with basic principles, we say that human rights that consist of protecting one's self, one's honor, and one's possessions are the minimum for the existence of a society pleasing to God. In the last few years, these rights have been eliminated by expanded detention centers filled with thousands of persons of various persuasions. [passage omitted]

Basic human rights were eliminated by the spread of the hideous torture of detainees and their families, by firing into crowds, by the storming of villages and neighborhoods, and by the wholesale frightening of the people with no respect for age, children, or women.

Other examples of the renunciation of democracy are the direct challenge to judicial rulings and refusal to carry out such rulings (on the validity of the membership of several members of the People's Assembly). More serious is abolishing the system of public elections. Yes, the government has abolished this system in which voters went to the boxes and the votes were sorted. This system has totally ceased since the People's Assembly elections of 1987. Despite all the fraud that took place in these elections, there were still boxes and sorting. However, since this date, the government has decided that in by-elections (following the death of a member) and in local and Shura Council elections, the casting of votes is totally dispensable. It has begun to immediately announce the falsified results it desires, with one member of the opposition always winning.

The parties' activities and futures are restricted; however, those in power are disturbed by their mere existence. [passage omitted]

Countering this, one might say that the opposition press has extensive freedom of expression. Added to this column is usually the phrase, "printed despite inaccuracies." Truthfully, I do not know what inaccuracies they refer to. [passage omitted]

So far the government has not forcibly silenced us; however, we must inform public opinion that it is trying to do so through financial restrictions. No newspaper can cover its costs by distribution alone. Advertising and similar things cover part of the cost. Recently, the government has increased its intimidation of businessmen who advertise in the opposition press. It is well known that for a long time it has prevented public sector companies from advertising with us. We ask God to give us patience and steadfastness.

Suppose we are patient and continue writing. Is this democracy? Democracy is not merely words said and articles written—these are an integral part of life with a

government intending to improve policies, guide decisions, and lift repression. If democracy (i.e. consultation) does not achieve this, God save us from it.

Society, any society, works through policies, laws, and decisions. The task of consultation (in its various forms), is to prevent any individual or group from monopolizing the affairs of government and man. The idea of the multiparty system was conceived in this framework. Through the parties' competing for government, holding dialogues about solutions to problems, involving the people, and turning to the people for decisions on various matters, each party would be afraid of itself or its members committing an error, and all would become sensitive to the common good. If the parties are not doing any of this, if the political system does not allow them to influence decisions, participate in decisionmaking, mix with the people, or turn to them for decisions, they have become a senseless, marginal phenomenon.

I wonder at times: Why does the government want to hold public elections? Why does it spend millions of pounds, hang millions of signs, and waste millions of man hours if none of this is perceptibly beneficial? If the members of the councils are appointed in advance, if they have no power or responsibility, why this mockery? Are we to imagine that we are going along with the fashion, and that we are pleasing foreigners? Unfortunately, we arouse their scorn.

In this vein, I would like to mention the Jazirah Sporting Club elections, and before them all the similar clubs, as well as the professional union elections. All of these organizations now have an amazing number of participants. Despite the local or group-oriented nature of the elections, the official press itself followed the news of the elections with more interest than they paid to the Shura Council elections. This shows that the people are not passive, but participate when they realize that their role can influence, improve, and change, and when they realize that the elections are free. I would like us to imagine how this country would be, how its image would be, and how its government would be formed, if the public political system would allow some form of elections and guarantee the people that the elections would be free, if the people could know that elections could lead to changes in the government and improved conditions. I imagine that the National [Democratic] Party's [NDP] results would be like the Communist Party's results in Poland. It was hoped that President Mubarak would play the role played by General Jaruzelski, leading the conversion to a true multiparty system.

Consultation, as I have said, is not merely the stating of an opinion different from that of the government. It is an integral means of changing or guiding policies, fighting the corrupt of the earth, and rejecting those among them who hold positions of power. Can anyone claim that we are making progress in this direction? After many years, is there any agreed-upon program for political or constitutional reform to achieve consultation in its various,

integral forms? It is obvious from the preceding that we are going backwards instead of making progress.

Even if those in power are not content with the multi-party system and want one party to monopolize the concerns of the country and the people, this does not eliminate the need to guide policies and decisions. I believe that in this regard we are very far from the scientific method. Our way of deciding policy is worse than most of us think.

What do we do now, how do we make decisions? Is there any entity that receives information for study and analysis that will issue decisions in light of this information? Where is this entity? It is not in the People's Assembly, nor in the cabinet, nor in the NDP leadership. Where is it, (if it exists)?

This pivotal question arises from two observations:

1. The Prime Minister is responsible for seeing to it that the various ministries operate according to the general political plan. However, our prime minister (and before him Dr 'Atif Sidqi) does not do this. No minister considers himself responsible for what happens outside his ministry. Our ministers do not consider themselves members of a team, do not realize that they are politicians. This vacuum at the ministerial level has increased the role of the only minister who follows activity in the economic, social, and cultural sectors: the minister of interior. Zaki Badr is the only one who has the overall picture (imagine!). Woe be it to the society where the Ministry of Interior takes on the responsibilities of the ruling political party. We are not criticizing the positive role played by honorable policemen in most situations. However, we loathe the predominance of the police security view, and it becomes a very serious matter when the general atmosphere is obscured by political clouds and crises. This entices those who hold the strict security view to intensify their use of force. The danger becomes aggressive and lethal when the minister of interior is Zaki Badr, whose like we have not seen before.

2. In international relations...negotiations with the IMF, for example, or with the United States or the Soviet Union—how do we prepare for such negotiations, how are instructions and recommendations issued to the Egyptian negotiators? I once asked a high official who takes part in such discussions, "Is there well-planned coordination among those in charge of military, economic, and foreign affairs concerns?" He said no, and I expressed my astonishment, saying that the representatives of international organizations coordinate in this fashion. For example, it is obvious that the U.S. hard line on easing military debt or granting monetary assistance is linked to talking about complying with IMF requirements, accepting military bases, and expanding relations with Israel. The IMF representative coming to negotiate with us has all this information in mind and consults with the State Department and the Pentagon before he comes. How can the minister of economy or

the minister of planning meet with him without being fully aware of all these interwoven dimensions? [passage omitted]

We must expand the circle of participation, even if we are a one-party country.

AL-WAFD Calls for Constitutional Reform, Popular Rule

90OA0090A Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic
26 Oct 89 pp 1, 11

[Article by Jamal Badawi]

[Excerpts] There is not a single Egyptian that does not wish that Egypt would escape its current crisis with its two aspects, economic and political. The economic crisis has reached a dead end, and all band-aid measures have failed to alleviate the suffering. The political crisis has reached the point that real reform is despaired of, such that the Egyptian has diverted his attention from politics and its problems, to the excitement of ball games. Televised sessions of the People's Assembly have not been able to convince the citizens that there is any use in them, because the citizens know how this assembly is made up, and how agreement on laws that touch upon Egypt's destiny is extracted from it, without the people having any say or will in the determination of this destiny.

We have reached a dead end. But how do we get out of it in a way that spares Egypt shake-ups, developments, or surprises of unknown consequences?

Since returning to the political arena the Wafd has called for constitutional reform, which means simply that the people have actual and not nominal power, or that the nation itself be the source of authority in word and deed, and legislatively. But the state and those who speak for it receive this call with scorn, and they consider it to be an unnecessary luxury, and they claim that the Egyptian citizen needs a morsel of bread more than he needs the constitution. [passage omitted]

Anything that is said about the democratic margin that is now permitted ought not to distract us from fighting for constitutional reform, for the constitution embodies the source of the disease, and the cure must start with it.

All political powers in Egypt have a historical responsibility for getting out of these straits, and we must give a practical answer to this question: "Who controls Egypt? The people or the state? And who controls the national economy? Individuals, or the ruler? And who has the right to govern Egypt? The sole ruler who inherited a regime with absolute power, or the people represented by their freely and voluntarily elected deputies?"

This is the essence of the issue and of the conflict. Everything that goes on in the margin consists of topical cures or band-aid and cosmetic measures removing the crisis from its real course. How we wish that the state

would realize what hidden currents are flowing in the depths and voluntarily relinquish its absolute power, instead of being forced to do so. In doing so it would have an example of what the smart states in the modern world are doing.

Then the people would be in control of things, and they would become their own master, and the master of their own determination in word and in deed, not falsely.

AL-SHA'B Samples Supply Ministry Price Increases

45000053 *Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic* 21 Nov 89 p 1

[Report by 'Ali al-Qammash and 'Amr 'Abd-al-Mun'im]

[Text] As of last week, the Ministry of Supply had issued 305 edicts to its companies to increase prices. These latest edicts are consistent with the 20-percent rise in prices on cotton clothing produced by both the public and private sectors, the 10-percent rise in the price of tea, the rise in the price of sugar to 1 Egyptian pound per kg, and the 10-percent rise in the price of clarified butter [samn].

In addition, the Ministry of Supply issued small packages of lentils at 3 Egyptian pounds per kg. In the markets, prices reached 2 Egyptian pounds for tomatoes and 90 piasters [100 piasters in an Egyptian pound] for an onion; garlic reached 1.25 Egyptian pounds.

Columnist Compares Zaki Badr to 'Abd-al-Nasir Minister

900A0090B *Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic* 25 Oct 89 p 9

[Commentary by Wajdi Zayn-al-Din]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] What Salah Nasr, the director of intelligence during the era of the late president 'Abd-al-Nasir did was what Zaki Badr, the interior minister, is doing now. First: he arrested thousands of innocent people, whether they were members of the Muslim Brotherhood or communists, and he tortured them in the detention camps and prisons. The instruments of torture in Egypt's detention camps were for extracting false confessions and destroying morale. The excuse given by that devil Salah Nasr was that all detainees were a threat to public security and to the essence of the system of government! That devil used to hire a group of very ruthless people to do the torturing, such as Hamzah al-Basyuni, Riyad Ibrahim, Safwat al-Rubi, and many others.

Salah Nasr himself used to torture members of the Muslim Brotherhood in the slaughterhouse of death. Moreover, women did not escape arrest. Instead, he took the as "hostages," so that the men themselves would surrender; the myrmidons [angels who thrust the dammed into Hell] made no distinction between young girls, women, or mothers. All were strung up like slaughtered animals in the slaughterhouse, which Shams

Badran himself would oversee. Journalists opposed to Salah Nasr's policy did not escape unharmed. That devil trumped up a charge against our great master Mustafa Amin, accusing him of spying for America.

Second: He, Zaki Badr, has filled all the prisons with political prisoners from all currents, and he does not distinguish between those of religious tendencies, or leftists, or communists, or right-wingers. He accuses all of being a threat to public security and to the essence of the system of government. Women and children are not spared arrest, and everyone gets various types of torture in modern ways which did not exist at the time of Salah Nasr. As for all the journalists whom Zaki Badr views as opposition, they are a gang that must someday be disciplined, and against whom charges must be trumped up.

As for the writer of these lines, he is..., and a charge must be brought against him!

Salah Nasr was brought to trial on a charge of corruption, and he was twice sentenced to prison, first in 1968, and then in 1976, when the great writer Mustafa Amin sued him for restitution.

ISRAEL

Shamir's Plan To Settle Refugees 'Hypocritical'

44230011B *Tel Aviv AL-HAMISHMAR in Hebrew* 10 Sep 89 p 7

[Article by Mark Gefen]

[Text] Many plans are kept in the drawers of the Prime Minister's office. Some have already been tried and failed, and others are there to be offered every so many years in the hope that one of them just might succeed this time. The great majority of them are designed to solve the problem of squaring the circle. How to maintain control over the territories—and placate the Palestinians. How to hold the territories and create the impression of a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. So far, as everyone knows, no one has succeeded in squaring the circle but there are still some who dally with the hope that an ingenious solution to this problem will be found somewhere.

Meanwhile, it is permissible to make fun of "it seems to me," as to Arens and Shamir, who lately have raised a plan for settling the refugees in camps on the West Bank and in Gaza. At first blush, who among us, or abroad, is able to oppose such a plan so full of humanism, as it were, gushing so with concern for the plight of hundreds of thousands of homeless refugees camped out in tents and temporary shelters, without sewage or the most elementary services, bereft of a communal existence. The Government of Israel has put all this on itself lately, above the intifadah, above the violent struggle between the IDF [Israel defense Forces] and the Palestinians, as if it has set out to say to the Palestinians, look, you come at

us with stones and molotov cocktails, and we answer you by building houses, sewer systems, cultural centers and so on.

In fact, this plan was taken out of the drawer once in the past and there were even attempts to build a number of housing units, for example, in the Gaza strip. But few of the local residents were willing to live in these houses. The primary reason was political. The refugees lived in their wretched camps as a protest against what they believed was their eviction from their homes in Israel, and with the expectation that the day will come when they will be allowed to return to Yafo, Ramla and Lod. There were other reasons as well, such as their failure to understand how long they would face the turmoil of building. Above all, however, Israel never intended and was never able to build more than a single building as an example, a sort of Potemkin village.

Shamir and Arens now believe that this humanitarian slogan will awake the enthusiasm of potential contributors to undertake the work that supposedly will raise billions of dollars. They have already received the answer of the primary contributor, the United States. Uncle Sam sometimes is truly generous, but also comes with no shortage of plans to eliminate the impoverished slums of his own country. The Americans may be generous with their money but they are no idiots. President Bush is not so naive that he will not understand Shamir's motives and his burst of compassion for the fate of the refugees.

President Bush took a long step towards Shamir when he adopted his elections plan as the basis for renewing the political process. To be sure, differences of opinion and deliberate obscurities remained concerning its details (such as the Palestinian voting in East Jerusalem), but the President, in his first term, preferred to get along with a minimum of understanding with the Government of Israel rather than wind up in a direct confrontation. After all, both Bush and Baker had left not the shadow of a doubt that any settlement must be based on the principle of exchanging land for peace.

There also were more than a few who argued that the Shamir plan was nothing more a public relations exercise and an attempt to gain time. But both the Americans and other actors on the international stage have agreed to try to follow this path exclusively to break the deadlock and begin the first steps towards negotiations between the parties. Furthermore, the Arab countries did not reject the plan out of hand. Egypt even joined in and supported it, although its support is accompanied by serious skepticism. In the end, even the PLO so far has not rejected the plan, on the condition that it will lead to a permanent settlement.

And so happened what was expected beforehand. Shamir contends that he has no one to talk with, that is, the Palestinians are guilty of not putting together a delegation (made of residents of the territories) willing to

discuss with Israeli representatives how to arrange elections in the territories. This story was known in advance. The Palestinians contend that the PLO represents them, while Israel outright disqualifies it. In other words, Shamir wants Palestinians who will say yes to all the details of the Israeli plan, which clearly is based on retention of the territories. At the most, it can lead to autonomy, which will be so defined as to allow the Palestinians to regulate matters of sewage and other daily necessities.

Shamir appears like someone who raises an eyebrow at hearing an argument that "the new plan" for settling the refugees is designed to distract attention from the political settlement itself. We Israelis seek to aid the residents of the refugee camps purely out of humanitarian reasons without asking anything in return; we do not even ask them to stop throwing stones.

Of course, there is much hypocrisy in this plan that does not oblige Israel to do anything. The money needs to come from the wealthy of the world, and the work, in any event, will be done by the Palestinians themselves. But these feelings of compassion for the refugee population are the peak of hypocrisy, if we take into account the daily repression, the days of curfew and quarantine, the hundreds of detentions, not to mention the killing of children and young adults every day.

Shamir once again is trying to send up empty propaganda balloons instead of coming to terms with the problem, that is, opening the safe in his office in which the one realistic plan is kept well locked: negotiations with the PLO and willingness to give up the territories.

Who holds the key to that safe? It seems to me that even Shamir does not have access to it. The center of the Likud placed restraints on his authority. They will certainly see to it that this idea will never come out of the cellar.

Possible Pro-Syrian Apparatus Appears in Territories

44000084 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR
in Hebrew 17 Nov 89 p 2

[Text] A new, apparently pro-Syrian, organization called the "national unity alignment" has appeared in the territories. The new organization calls for the reinstatement of the Palestine national covenant, return to armed struggle, severing any contact with the Israelis, including the Israeli left, and renewing "Arab revolutionary fervor." This organization disseminates a sort of covenant of fundamentals which negates the PLO's basic tenets that there is no chance for peace [as published] and that the Arabs must strengthen their positions by continuing and intensifying the struggle against Zionism until another opportunity arises. According to the covenant the struggle is not Israeli-Palestinian and to be conducted by the PLO, but pan-Arab and to be conducted by all Arabs. The document also attacks the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc countries for their

conciliatory attitude toward the "Zionist entity." The covenant maintains that the unified leadership of the uprising should renew its ties with the masses and expand its ranks.

PFLP Attacks Against Israelis in Cairo Planned

44000094 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT
in Hebrew 15 Nov 89 p 3

[Text] According to an indictment submitted yesterday to the military court in Janin, Muhammad Amin Jarrar of Janin, a senior member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, planned attacks against Israeli tourists in Egypt. The indictment states that he ordered one of his men to go to Egypt and film sites visited by Israelis in order to plan attacks.

Killings of Collaborators Continue at Qetziot Jail

44230011C Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ
in Hebrew 8 Sep 89 p 1B

[Article by Eytan Rabin]

[Text] All the murders detailed here were committed in half a year in the Qetziot jail, a security prison guarded by the IDF [Israel Defense Forces]. In each instance, signs of violence and brutality were found on the bodies of the prisoners, indicating the suffering they had endured before their deaths. The report of the autopsy on the body of one of the prisoners stated, "We found the results of a relatively straight dark wound (a beating) consistent with the application of heavy force on the area of the buttocks by a hard, cylindrical object such as a stick. The peculiar injuries to the abdomen and the right shoulder were consistent with the results of pressure by biting. The injuries to the palms of the hands were consistent with binding."

- 17 March 1989—Mahmud Duwalah, a security prisoner from Gaza, was murdered in the Qetziot jail. He was found dead in his bed. There were signs of violence on his body.
- 22 April 1989—Security prisoner 'Omed Algarbali was strangled to death. Signs of violence were found on his body.
- 26 April 1989—'Ataf Natzar, a security prisoner, was strangled to death. Signs of violence were found on his body.
- 20 June 1989—Samir 'Ali Antiz, a security prisoner, was murdered.
- 23 June 1989—Security prisoner Mahmud Yusuf 'Ali Abu-Gadlalla was murdered.
- 27 June 1989—Mahmud 'Abd al-Hamid al-Mazi, a security prisoner, was murdered, as was 'Ali Rashid Hajazi, another security prisoner.
- 5 August 1989—Security prisoners Ahmed Salim al-Gish and Ziad 'Abd Mahmud Bana were murdered.
- 10 August 1989—An attempt to murder and abuse Fadal Simali, a security prisoner.

- 1 September 1989—Jamal Halaf, a security prisoner, was murdered.

Another autopsy report described severe burns by burning cigarettes and assaults on the eyes, the genitals, and the testicles. In another incident, the pathological examination discovered that after he had been strangled, the prisoner's body had been cut from side to side and top to bottom as a mark of his collaboration. From these autopsy reports and the evidence brought before the courts, one can see that the murderers are making a concerted effort to deter others and instill mass fear in the prison.

Qetziot prison was built in the beginning of 1988 to solve the problem of overcrowding of security prisoners that began to fill the military jails at the start of the intifadah. Some 4,000 administrative detainees and prisoners are held there pending their trials and afterwards. The prison is made of camps of tents; each tent holds 20 to 30 prisoners. The prisoners from Gaza are kept apart from the prisoners from the West Bank. The prison justifies this practice as a means of preventing the possibility that one group will pass information to the other. Each camp contains about 1,000 prisoners. The commander of each camp is an officer, usually in regular service. Communication between the IDF and the prisoners is made through a designated prisoner (shawish), accepted by both the prison authorities and the prisoners in the camp.

Qetziot has made the headlines more than once for crude sanitary conditions, riots, prisoner complaints of improper behavior, suffering from the heat and the danger posed by scorpions and snakes, which are found mainly in the arid regions of the Negev. There have been many complaints of insufficient food and grave sanitary conditions. From a number of watch towers around the camp, IDF soldiers guard them at something of a distance. The soldiers do not enter the camps except during disturbances. In such an event, they disperse tear gas and suppress the riot. Aside from that, there is no direct contact between the IDF and the prisoners. The only contact between the installation's commander and the prisoners is carried on at specified hours when the prisoners present him with their special requests, such as family visits, book purchases, and receiving newspapers. Each request is considered and the answer provided personally to each prisoner.

About a month ago, the prisoners decided to boycott the commander of the prison and, in a rare move, a notice was sent around the prison, describing Tzemah as a murderer. During the first stages of their time in the prison, the administrative detainees and security prisoners already sentenced were highly unified. Many disturbances against the IDF broke out. In one of those a year ago, two prisoners were killed by IDF soldiers; an investigation still has not been completed. Recently, the prison authorities have succeeded in forming ties with prisoners inside the camps and so have created sources

of information that have more than once lend to suppression of outbreaks and seizure of instigators well before the event has escalated. Of course, leaders have sprung up among the prisoners in the jail, and different groups, according to their connection to various organizations, have been created.

Groups of three to five, known as "popular committees," are operating among the prisoners of Qetziot. These prisoners have attained their positions among the others by virtue of their extensive and concrete terrorist experience in the past: active participation in disorders and throwing molotov cocktails. Some of them were leaders of the popular committees or the shock committees in the territories. This skeleton staff maintains close ties with the leadership of the intifadah in the territories. Messages are conveyed to them during family visits, conferences with lawyers, and by new prisoners arriving at the prison, who report to the leadership to bring it up to date with what is happening in the territories. The prison authorities know about the committee but have not managed to identify its activists.

The murders are committed on orders that come straight from the field to the popular committee. When a rumor spreads in Gaza that the family of this prisoner or that is suspected of collaboration, or that the prisoner himself is suspected of aiding the authorities, the message is sent to the prison by the family of another prisoner or by a relative of one of the leaders, who brings the name of the prisoner to be eliminated. The message is borne by different methods, such as a mark in a copy of the Koran. If, for example, the prisoner to be killed is named Abdallah, a mark is placed at a point at which his name appears in the Koran. Abdallah's family name is marked on a slip of newspaper or in an entry note that visitors bring to prison.

Fadal Samil, one of the prisoners recently saved from an attempt on his life, describes how decisions are made to murder a collaborator. After receiving his name, a committee of three or four meets to decide what to do with the collaborator. The decision may be to murder or to maim. The leaders of the supreme council send a message to investigation teams in the prison. The message is sent by a note stuck to a stone thrown into the camps. On the note is written the name of the collaborator who must be investigated and induced to confess, sometimes in writing.

From that moment, the prisoners in the jail know the name of the collaborator, they approach him, speak with him, and ask him questions. For example, one of the prisoners poses as a collaborator and tries to draw the subject into fatally incriminating himself. If the provocateur obtains the desired results, the suspected collaborator will be murdered that night; if not, the investigation teams start to torture the prisoner. All the prisoners pass by him, insulting and cursing him, calling him scum, shunning him, striking his body as a sign of his collaboration. They put pressure on him until he confesses his assistance to the authorities.

In one incident, 8 months ago, a prisoner was suspected of collaboration and dealt with in this way. First they pinched him, then put out burning cigarettes all over his body. When they had learned everything, that he really was a collaborator, they burned half his beard. This course of torture might continue for a week. It depends on the date it begins, because the decision to murder is made only on Friday, when the committee meets after prayer.

During the days of torture, every sort of assault on his body is permitted. According to the testimony of a prisoner saved from murder, prisoners tortured him for 6 hours on his penis and testicles. He was rescued only by IDF soldiers. The longer the torture continues, the stronger the message of deterrence to all the other prisoners in the jail who hear of it. Indeed, the purpose of the torture is to intimidate other prisoners considering the possibility of collaboration. During torture, the prisoner is absolutely helpless and all his friends turn against him. Even if one of them would like to help him, no one would dare come to his aid for fear that he too will be suspected of collaboration.

When the leadership has given the green light for a murder, it is carried out at night by one of several methods: strangulation with a towel or by hand, blows by a fist to the head or a heavy beating of the entire body. They never use anything sharp such as a knife. In most cases, the autopsy reports confirm a strangulation. The murder is committed by a group of three or four. The body is then thrown out of the tent. In many cases, the bodies bear signs of brutal violence inflicted even after death. The pathology reports describe bodies with untimely hemorrhages caused by abuse before death, and signs of violence on the body.

The prison authorities usually discover the body in the morning. Sometimes, the prisoners call the authorities and show them the body. Then the national police, with the responsibility to investigate murders, enter the picture. A police investigator arrives at the prison and begins to investigate the prisoners living in the victim's tent. So far, a prisoner among those living in the tent has always come forward and confessed to the murder without any coercion. The prisoner is taken to a cell and questioned there about the details of the murder to which he has confessed. In every case, the prisoners suspected of murder have confessed. They tell the investigators, "Yes, I murdered him because he was a collaborator with the Israeli authorities and was scum." That is how they say it in court.

The legal proceedings are very brief. The murderer confesses, the judge announces the verdict. The prisoners briefly answer the investigators' questions, either reading from a book or reciting a version learned by heart. The testimony of the defendants does not fit the pathology reports. The investigators conclude that, in some of the cases, the defendants have been chosen by the prisoners' leadership regardless of whether they have any connection to those who committed the crime. It is

their assignment to appear in court, stand and receive judgment, so their comrades can continue to operate unseen. "We must assume that the prisoners who confess to murder are loyal to the intifadah and see themselves as martyrs, sacrificing themselves for the freedom of the Palestinian people," says a senior source in the police.

The defense lawyer for the southern district, Ya'akov Qroser, points to two cases in which discrepancies were found between the testimony of the suspected murderer and the autopsy investigation. That shows that the man found guilty is not always the one who did the crime. "In each case, we instruct the police to continue the investigation to see if there are other suspects in the murders," says the regional defender.

Although the police and the IDF know of the instigations in Qetziot prison, designed to create disturbances, the murders there will continue, by the same methods and in the same context. No means has yet been found to put an end to this phenomenon. Every attempt by the prison director and the commander of the Southern Command, General Yitzhaq Mordekhay, has been in vain. The murders have systematically been carried out at the rate of almost twice a week. Every police investigator knows that a new body is likely to be found each morning.

IDF Aid to SLA for Coming Year Estimated

44000092 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR
in Hebrew 9 Nov 89 p 4

[Text] In the coming year the IDF [Israel Defense Force] will spend NIS [new Israeli shekels] 7.5 million on aid to the SLA [Army of South Lebanon]. According to General Staff estimates, this will enable the SLA to maintain its current size and operational level.

IDF Gives Intifadah Statistics

44000091 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR
in Hebrew 14 Nov 89 p 6

[Text] According to an IDF [Israel Defence Forces] spokesman, since the beginning of the intifadah 520 Arabs, 11 Israeli civilians, and 7 IDF soldiers have been killed in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. During this period 5,697 Arabs, 712 Israeli civilians, and 942 soldiers were injured; 161 West Bank homes were demolished and 70 sealed; and 37 West Bank residents were expelled. In the Gaza Strip 627 soldiers, 66 Israeli civilians, and 2,896 Arabs were wounded; 83 homes were demolished and 46 sealed; and 21 residents were expelled. As of 5 November 1989, 9,009 residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip were under detention in various IDF detention facilities. Of these, 2,943 had already been tried, 1,354 were still awaiting trial, 2,918 were being detained until the completion of proceedings, and 1,794 were under administrative detention.

New Outposts Set Up Along West Bank Roads

44000090 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR
in Hebrew 27 Nov 89 p 3

[Text] In keeping with a new policy by Central Commander Yitzhaq Mordekhay, the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] has set up 41 outposts along major West Bank roads since August 1989. Each outpost is manned by a squad of soldiers who observe traffic arteries and problematic spots along the artery.

Two More Settler Companies To Be Mobilized

44000085 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR
in Hebrew 17 Nov 89 p 24

[Text] The chief of staff and central commander decided that two additional companies of settlers will be mobilized for reserve duty service at the beginning of December and will be comprised of settlers serving in companies of the "Hagmar" territorial defense organization in Judea and Samaria. One company will serve in Jericho and the other will be divided into platoons which will operate in different areas on the West Bank.

Hamas Said Growing Stronger in Gaza

44000100 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ
in Hebrew 30 Nov 89 p 2

[Text] The trials of 30 Hamas members arrested during an IDF [Israel Defense Forces] sweep several months ago began yesterday in the Gaza military court. The trials of Hamas leaders, which were scheduled to begin in mid-November, have been postponed to 29 December 1989. A senior military source in the Gaza Strip said at the beginning of the week that Hamas is gradually rebuilding itself, and information has been received to the effect that it is growing stronger in the Gaza Strip, and is establishing a leadership to replace the incarcerated Shaykh Ahmad Yasin. the military source added that many Hamas detainees participate in disturbances after they are released. He also noted that recently, Gaza Strip residents have been switching their support from Fatah to Hamas. According to the military source, "many of them go to the mosques, pray, force their wives to go about with their faces veiled and refuse to attend weddings at which music is played." He added: "This phenomenon is worrisome to Fatah, which fears a strengthening of Hamas in Gaza."

Increase in Arabs Moving to Tel Aviv Reported

44000075 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 29 Nov 89 p 3

[Text] According to a survey on population trends in Tel Aviv-Yafo, conducted by the municipality's Center for Socio-Economic Research, in 1988 there was a significant increase in the number of Arabs who came to live in Tel Aviv and a decrease in the number of Jews. In 1983 there were 329,200 residents of Tel Aviv including

319,500 Jews and 9,700 non-Jews, while in 1988, there were 317,800 residents, 306,700 Jewish, and 11,100 Arab.

Research Statistics for 1989 Given

44000083 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
22 Nov 89 p 2

[Text] During the first 7 months of the fiscal year, the research committee of the chief scientist's office in the Ministry of Industry and Trade has approved \$60 million for research and development in the fields of electronics, computers, hardware, software, IBM programming, electro-optics, communications equipment and components, medical equipment, lasers, robotics, machinery, aeronautics, biotechnology, chemistry, pharmaceuticals, plastics, energy, and foodstuffs.

Statistics for New Immigrants Given

44000093 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 9 Nov 89 p 10

[Text] Uri Gordon, head of the 'Aliya and Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency, stated yesterday that 17,350 new immigrants arrived in Israel during the first 10 months of the year, which is a 58 percent increase over the same period last year. This includes 7,320 immigrants from the Soviet Union, a 319 percent increase over the same period last year, and 1,270 from Argentina, a 31 percent increase.

Commentator Questions Wisdom of Arab Expulsions

44230011D Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ
in Hebrew 8 Sep 89 p 1B

[Article by Ze'ev Shif]

[Text] Members of the security establishment regard expulsion of Palestinian activists as the most effective punishment. In certain instances, that is correct, both from a practical standpoint and also from the personal standpoint of the deportee. The question is whether it is also the wisest punishment from the standpoint of the state. In fact, those making policy in Israel have never conducted a fundamental and exhaustive study of the question. Israel looks at the issue exclusively from an immediate operational point of view. It pays no attention to the influence of expulsions in the long term.

When a political initiative is on the agenda, and when we are searching for partners for negotiations among the Palestinians in the territories, a doubt arises concerning the political wisdom of expulsions done without sufficient consideration. After the 6-Day War, we made a mistake in expelling from the territories many pro-Jordanian residents. Some years later, when the PLO's strength grew, we missed the pro-Jordanians.

The residents of the territories reacted similarly to the expulsions carried out before the uprising. Expulsion is the harshest form of punishment for the subject and his

family. After a brief warning, the exile is cast into acute isolation. Most of them never appear in the headlines, stuck in their hovels and immersed in a painful grayness. After the warm welcome they win from the Palestinian leadership, relations with them turn routine. Many of them are later considered troublesome. Many of the exiles speak of the frustration and depression that have beset them after the PLO granted them shelter abroad.

The PLO leadership in Tunis does not want too many living heroes among the residents of the territories. In one instance, the television camera has revealed that relationship. In a film the PLO released, some of the deportees were shown being welcomed with applause by the members of the Palestinian national council. Then the camera unintentionally recorded the empty benches. It turned out the film was made in an empty hall. From the practical standpoint, too, matters are not going smoothly. Repeated deportations have lost their effectiveness because the Palestinian public does not understand at all the purpose of the authorities.

A good example of that is the last group of five deportations. The first proposal to expel the five arose more than a year earlier. The primary purpose in these expulsions was to signal to the Palestinian population that Israel would not tolerate participation in the national council. Execution of the expulsions was delayed by some 7 months while the deportees appealed to the Supreme Court, and the military authorities wasted still more time. Many changes had occurred by then and the Palestinians in the territories did not understand why the five had been expelled. This example illustrates the comments of the defense minister, who said that expulsion is not effective if not executed immediately against the background of a particular event.

If that is true, why were the five expelled after a year had passed? In any event, the five had sat in prison that year. They had not endangered anyone, stirred up trouble, or worked for the popular committees. In other words, expulsion was not designed to avoid danger but became a routine punishment. It was necessary and possible to bring the deportees to court for their acts, as is customary in orderly societies. And if they were still thought to present a danger, the terms of their administrative detentions could have been extended.

The real explanation for expelling the five was that it was done out of inertia and self-compulsion. Those who had ordered them were unable or afraid to rescind them. Each one worried what the next would say if the expulsions were canceled. No one stopped for a moment to ask himself if we were not expelling someone who might in the future engage us in negotiations, the new leadership sprouting from below.

An example of that is the expulsion of Dr Tisir 'Aruri, a physicist from Bi'r Zayt. He belongs to the Palestinian communist party. That party today is a part of the PLO, but few in the public know that it opposes acts of terror and that it does not accept instructions from abroad. Its

leaders do support the intifadah, but strongly oppose the use of arms and explosives. They also vigorously call for negotiations to reach a compromise with Israel. It is the most moderate group among the Palestinians. Why stubbornly expel one of its leaders at this time, when they are speaking of the possibility of conducting negotiations and elections in the territories? Once again, it is a matter of expelling the more moderate.

So long as the intifadah continues, it is only natural that those carrying out the expulsions will come with further requests since, at the moment, there is no unified policy examining the matter from a long-term point of view. The chance that the Justice Ministry will agree to expulsion before a decision by the Supreme Court is slight. As a result, the defense minister has had to order that the policy of expulsions will be applied more selectively in the future, and will be directed only at extremists directly involved in violence, extremists of the Jihad and members of Jibril and Abu-Musa. It is up to him to overcome the existing tendency within the office of the Prime Minister and the Foreign Ministry, which forbid meetings with local leaders such as Faysal Husayni, Sari Nusaybah and Raduan Abu-Ayyash.

Under the current system, we will dismantle the local leadership and remove the strong ones within it who are capable of serving in the future as a local center of gravity against the PLO in Tunis. In the end, we will face extremists from the Islamic Jihad, or weak men representing only themselves, or street leaders working according to the Lebanese system, whose only interest is the street under their control. And then, of course, we will be able to say that there is no one with whom to talk.

Druze Accuse Israel of Discrimination in Education

44230007C Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ
in Hebrew 6 Sep 89 p 11

[Article by Lilly Galili: "Fighters, Not Writers"]

[Text] A 10-minute ride separates the Arab village of Kefar Yasif and the Druze village of Irk'a. The short route, lined with cramped olive trees, separates two worlds. It might be possible to summarize the differences between the two by comparing the number of academicians within the Israeli Arab population to the number in the Druze community, but the issue is people, and the strong feelings that are concealed behind the dry numbers.

The picture of the situation is as follows: Among approximately 700,000 Israeli Arabs, the number of academicians is approximately 12,000, or less than 2 percent of this entire population; among the Druze, who today number approximately 66,000, there are fewer than 400 academicians—a little more than one-half of 1 percent. Even this figure is subject to dispute. Sitting in a huge living room, the hosts bend over their papers, go through

every village by memory, and come up with a list of names of academicians. The total from this joint effort is 371.

Shortly before, in Kefar Yasif, even before the numerical data was brought forth, the number of doctors in the village stood out. Many of the houses displayed shingles for doctors with an indication of their specialization; many car windshields bear the insignia of the medical profession.

What the eye sees is not deceiving. There are approximately 80 doctors and dentists in Kefar Yasif. Kefar Yasif, they announce with pride, was in the Guinness Book of Records, due to its percentage of academicians. Among 5,775 residents of the village, almost 5 percent are academicians: doctors, jurists, engineers, pharmacists, holders of bachelors and masters degrees, two renowned scientists in nuclear physics and economics, and even an important poet, named Mahmud Darwish.

Shehadah points to the council emblem hanging above his head—a compass within a book within a shield. Taking the three components together, he explains, the book represents education which is the best shield there is today for Israeli Arabs, and it is education that will give them direction and show them the way.

Dr Ahmed Tiybi, head of the Arab academicians circle, says the same thing: "Education is being grasped by us today as the most effective weapon." Nayif Farah, principal of the Yasif high school, agrees with them: "It is like with you, the Jews, when you were in the diaspora." And Dr Ali Mugarbi, a doctor of internal medicine who studied in East Berlin at the expense of the Communist Party (as did many others in this village), elaborates: "To exist, it is necessary to understand. To understand, it is necessary to learn. That is our survival."

Druze representatives listen to the conversation and let their Arab colleagues have the floor. With a degree of embarrassment, and no small degree of anger at the comparison that will come, they listen to reports of 98 percent completing the 12th grade; of 100 percent of the teachers in the local high school having academic degrees; and of a zero drop-out rate from school. They identify only when the Kefar Yasif people say: "There is a strong feeling that the administration has a covert but deliberate policy to maintain a low educational level, a policy that fosters ignorance which serves their political interests. A man with a poor education, cut off from what is happening around him, presents less of a threat to them."

This feeling, however real it may be, constitutes a strong motivating force among Israeli Arabs. The intifadah only strengthened it. The Druze will say that all this works only for the benefit of Israeli Arabs. "Justly or unjustly, the administration is afraid of them." The threat of the spread of the intifadah to within the green line, even if it is not real, is a strong incentive for improving the

situation of Israeli Arabs. "Our problem," says one of the Druze participants, "is that no one is afraid of us. They take us for granted."

Another look at the numbers and data shows that at least on the face of it, the Druze have not gained much from the blood pact they made with Israel. From their point of view, they hint here and there, they have even lost. Against 80 doctors in Kefar Yasif, they speak bitterly about Irk'a, where the population is much larger (8,500 people) and where there are only 7 doctors. The Druze sect as a whole boasts only 41 doctors, 1 accountant, 22 lawyers and 30 engineers. On the other hand, they remark almost cynically, "We have today more than 70 senior officers in the IDF [Israel Defense Forces], from the rank of lieutenant colonel on up. Maybe we will exchange them for 70 senior functionaries?"

It appears that the feelings of the Druze toward army service is ambivalent. The natural pride of achievement in this area is somewhat mixed with a large dose of bitterness. Their Jewish partner in the blood pact is seen as someone who does not fulfill his part of the bargain. The comparison with the Arabs, who do not serve in the IDF, becomes the focus of resentment which does not escape Israeli Arabs.

"The demand on us to join in national service, as a precondition for equal conditions and equal rights, is absurd," says Dr Tiybi. "Look at the Druze. They serve, and their situation is worse than ours. If we are class "D" citizens, they are class "F" citizens."

Na'aman Shehadah comments matter of factly: "The Druze must put their weapons aside. Maybe then they will start to study." He immediately reconsiders and hurries to explain that he is referring to the well known Druze love of hunting.

Even if we are only talking about a specific group within the Druze population, there is no doubt that for a significant portion of them, army service is beginning to be seen as a basic obstacle. Principally, they say, army service removes the sting and overshadows the drive to study. "Army service is an easy solution, an option with inherent pride and income. If we did not serve in the IDF, studying would become our main weapon, exactly as it is for the Arabs."

In an attempt to understand the reasons for the small number of educated people in their sect, the Druze are only willing to accept a limited part of the responsibility for the situation. It is true that women in their sect do not go on to higher education, a situation which excludes approximately half of the population from studying. It is true that the army interferes. Many young people choose to establish homes and go to work immediately after their army service. The family-community structure often dictates the choice of their path. There are also others who stimulate anger by saying, "The Druze do not have the right mentality for studying."

However, they blame the situation principally on the Israeli administration. "If the Jews wanted to, they could make donkeys intelligent. They simply do not want to help us. It is a discriminatory country." They claim there is an astoundingly low level in elementary schools, a claim supported by a report prepared by the Ministry of Education on the elementary schools in Irk'a. Approximately one-quarter of the students were found to have difficulties in arithmetic and reading comprehension; the teachers were found lacking in educational and leadership initiative.

K'amal Hasan, a doctor from Julis and a member of the local council, levels harsh claims about the path of advancement for teachers, principals, and superintendents in the Druze sector. "Not only are schools lacking, or the level low, but also, political considerations are involved throughout the process. Anyone seen as opposing the Tarif family (the family of the sect's leader, Shaykh Amin Tarif) does not have a chance. The appointment of teachers is not made on a professional basis, but a political and clan basis. Those who oversee the Druze education are principally schooled in family relations." It is therefore not surprising that those in charge of Druze education themselves choose to send their children to Jewish schools. It is also a fact, they say cynically, that those who choose that path also manage to achieve a higher education, indicating that the Druze are not stupid, but that their educational system is terrible.

Theoretically, this is an internal Druze issue. In practice, the appointments are made under the aegis of the Ministry of Education and other government offices, who are also bound by clan considerations. The Jewish administration, say the Druze, goes with the reactionary families.

A feeling of frustration and of being trapped characterizes many among the Druze. When we go back to the inevitable comparison between the situation of Israeli Arabs and that of the Druze, a Druze activist says: "They have alternatives. There is the Palestinian state that might come to be; there are the Arab countries, which provide money; and hundreds of funds working for them. They have Fahad and 'Arafat and the Vatican—all of which they can belong to. We have nothing, just the small parcel God gave us in the State of Israel."

[Box, p 11] Scholarship Fund Will Be Enlarged

In response to the claims raised in this article, the Minister of Education and Culture, Yitzhaq Navon, replied: "The Ministry of Education and Culture has been working over the last few years to advance higher education in the Druze sector. This year, approximately 500 Druze students are studying in universities and almost half of them received scholarships of 700-1,000 shekels per student. Recently, I decided to increase the scholarship fund for Druze students from 100,000 shekels to 150,000 shekels.

"The law passed in the Knesset providing for equal rights for the Druze indicates a trend to provide the

Druze with every opportunity for advancement that is available to Jews. I have no doubt that it will take time to bridge the gap, but in everything related to the Ministry of Education we are already moving in that direction. This year, for example, the Ministry of Education will establish a center for scientific education in the Druze sector, intended to train Druze students in this area and to encourage them to continue their academic studies. If the Druze youth want to choose the path of higher education, we will give them all the help that is required."

JORDAN

Crown Prince Hasan Profiled

90OL0054A Tel Aviv MA'ARIV
in Hebrew 22 Sep 89 p 8

[Article by 'Amos Gilbo'a]

[Text] More than 5 months ago, at the end of the food riots in Jordan, a bitter argument took place in the palace. On one side, Crown Prince Hasan, aged 42; opposite him, Prince 'Abd-Allah, the eldest son of the king, aged 27. In the "marketplace" in Amman they say that tempers flared, and spurred by the young prince's accusations, Hasan—who is known for his control and even temper—lost control and raised his hand against 'Abd-Allah. Perhaps it was just a family financial dispute, but it was more than that.

The "food riots" broke out among the Bedouin tribes loyal to southern Jordan. King Husayn was on an official visit to the United States and Hasan was filling his place. He was faced with an unusual challenge. He activated the army and security forces, and rushed in person to the focal point of the outbursts, in the town of Ma'an, for a meeting with the Bedouin leaders. His car was stoned, but the car's armored shield proved itself. He talked to the Bedouins about their economic problems and announced to the media that he would suppress any attempted outbursts with force. As is par for the course, he blamed Israel for the events.

About a month ago, the prince had another "problem" with Israel. The Israeli ambassador in Washington, Moshe Arad, received an elegant invitation. The Washington Institute for U.S. Policy in the Middle East was holding its annual congress and was inviting him to a gala dinner, where the guest speaker was to be Prince Hasan. Only after the fact did the crown prince ask his assistant to see the list of guests invited to the dinner.

The name of the Israeli ambassador was on the list. It was then that the scuffle began. The crown prince, his advisors said, was not willing to appear in the presence of the ambassador, although he would not object to the presence of any other representative from the embassy. A series of phone calls began with Ambassador Arad. It is him or me, the hurt and insulted ambassador replied.

So the institute decided: him, the Jordanian crown prince. Arad spent the evening elsewhere.

Prince Hasan has accumulated to his credit hundreds of congresses and symposia, public and academic. He is always anxious to lecture, to impart his opinions, to vent his academic pretensions. In the streets of Jordan, he is called the "beast of symposia." Before returning to his position in Amman, Hasan studied for his post at Oxford. At the time, 25 years ago, he had "stolen" the inheritance from 'Abd-Allah.

In 1965, King Husayn faced a problem: His second wife, Mona, 3 years previously had given birth to a first-born son, 'Abd-Allah. But she was British, blond, and did not have a dark complexion or noble bearing. The king's mother pressured him not to make 'Abd-Allah crown prince. It was the time of 'Abd-al-Nasir and the establishment of the PLO—all Husayn's enemies. No one knew then what each day would bring or if the bullet of an assassin would reach the king.

The choice fell on his younger brother, Prince Hasan, his mother's beloved son. Husayn had another brother, older than he, by the name of Mahmud. But he was feeble-minded. He reminded them of their father, King Talal, who ended his days in an institution for the mentally ill.

Prince Hasan received the news of his appointment as crown prince while studying at one of the extolled colleges at Oxford. Hasan spent almost 10 years in England from the time of his appointment. He was like a young and beloved son of his brother, King Husayn. At the age of 10, he was sent to England to study at the elite high school, Harrow, the breeding ground of the local aristocracy.

His behavior was not the most obedient, but a prince is a prince, and for years he held the coveted position of chairman of the class council. When he finished, he registered for Eastern studies at Oxford. He studied Arabic and Hebrew. The academic fervor, that was to accompany him in the future, drove him to examine opportunities for study at one of the elite American universities. His area of interest—the ancient Hebrew language.

Desire was one thing, reality another. When he finished at Oxford, the king called upon him to return to Jordan, to begin filling the role of crown prince. At age 21, average height (he is a head taller than his short brother), solid, with black penetrating eyes and a head of black hair that has dwindled over the years, a short triangular beard that was later shaven, Hasan returned to Jordan and began his career as crown prince. Fluent in English and ensconced in British culture and manners, he was an educated man. The time: immediately following the 6-Day War. The West Bank had been "occupied"; the PLO had set up a base in Jordan and was conducting terrorist activities against Israel; the Jordanian economy was in a deep crisis.

From the beginning of the 1970s, he spearheaded all of Jordan's economic programs. He searched the world, encouraged investments, initiated agricultural, industrial, and tourism projects. His dream—to turn Jordan into Singapore, a "little Japan." The capital of Amman flourished and thrived thanks to his initiatives. The same is true of the Jordan Valley. Reality favored him: Arab oil, the civil war in Lebanon, the Iraq-Iran war, the quiet border with Israel, "open bridges" for exports from the West Bank—all these brought unprecedented prosperity, to such a degree that Hasan began to develop the idea of a "Marshall Plan" for the Middle East (he was ahead of Peres in this area), and even published a book on the Jordanian economy. But luck comes and luck goes, and over the last few years, the tables have turned and an economic crisis has settled in Jordan.

Hasan is a leader in the school of thought that has proposed, since the beginning of the 1970s, the severing of Jordan from the West Bank and emphasizing national Jordanian unity. He despises the Palestinians, not only in his heart, but in words. Nor do they like him.

His nightmare is the demographic control of Jordan by the Palestinians. Many of his economic policies were aimed at reducing the percentage of Palestinians in the population. One of those policies, several years back, was the idea of a "positive transfer" of Palestinians from Jordan to the West Bank: With Saudi financial aid, he came out with a plan for awarding far-reaching monetary benefits to young Palestinians, originally from the West Bank, who would make a commitment to return for a period of 10 years.

The Israeli "settlements" in the "territories" are one of his obsessions. He sees them as a source of evil and the central factor that might in the end bring about a "transfer" of residents from the territories to Jordan, Allah forbid. His office is plastered with colorful maps of Israel. All the settlements and strongholds and partial strongholds are indicated there, as are all water and electrical sources, and every industrial complex in Israel. Arik Sharon is his greatest fear. Every word he utters makes Hasan shudder. In general, he follows everything that is going on in Israel with a magnifying glass. Every morning he reads sections of Israeli newspapers and an issue of the JERUSALEM POST. We know very little about him. He knows a great deal about us. He even had personal contacts, before 1973, face to face—with Haim Givati, the former minister of agriculture, and with Pinhas Sapir, now deceased, former finance minister. They helped him develop the Jordanian agriculture in the Jordan Valley.

He is an easy-going man, a man of logic and learning. Emotions escape him. He is a man of dry numbers and statistics. He is a bit dry and not very witty, even distant, lacking warmth and social spirit. Perhaps the latter emanates precisely from the former.

They say he once flew to Italy on a plane with Mirwan Dudiyn, originally from Hebron. Dudiyn served at the

time as a clerk for the Jordanian airline. Between here and there, Dudiyn entertained the crown prince with witty jokes. Hasan rewarded him—shortly thereafter, Dudiyn was given a ministerial position in the Jordanian Government. Rumor has it that anyone with a large repertoire of jokes, who manages to tell them to Hasan, will be awarded some post.

He is healthy, and his hands are clean. There have been almost no stories of corruption and lechery that have stuck with him, as they have with his brother. His wife is a dark-skinned Pakistani named Charwa, the daughter of the former Pakistani foreign minister. They met in London and were married in 1968 in Karachi, with all the pomp and circumstances of a wedding in the movies. He has three daughters (aged 19, 17, and 15) and one son (aged 10). When they were small, he would tell them stories to put them to sleep.

Hasan is a family man who stays away from malicious intrigues. He enjoys diving, horseback riding, flying, shooting, playing polo, and working out with judo and karate—everything almost like his brother, but less so. Above all, he loves to lecture and write books. Hasan is number two in Jordan, but he does not have his own center of power. He is subject to the absolute influence and authority of his brother the king. It is possible that the king's love for him has waned slightly of late. He has his place in Husayn's heart, where the economic crisis weighs heavily. But over the years, the king's love for his eldest son 'Abd-Allah has grown stronger. If Husayn really wanted to, he could amend the constitution and appoint 'Abd-Allah crown prince in Hasan's stead. But this would not be simple and the queen mother is still alive and active. She certainly would not allow this to happen.

SUDAN

Editorial on Coopting Youth Loyalty to Government

900A0068A Khartoum AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAH in Arabic 17 Aug 89 p 5

[Commentary by Hamzah Sirr al-Khatam]

[Text] In a previous article entitled "Youth Between the Crisis of Multiplicity [of parties] and the Polarization of Ideology," we brought out the political background against which the political movement amongst youth operated before and after independence. And when the national salvation movement broke out on July 30 of this year, it threw down the gauntlet before the youth. The urgent question now is how to change the course of youth movements so that they might fit what is proposed for our country now.

Needless to say, any youth program that is not based on a scientific foundation will not bear fruit. Likewise, any position that tends to steer the youth movement contrary to what is proposed will only lead to more fragmentation

and conflict. What is needed then is for a new youth movement to be built that will strike its roots in the soil of this country and set out to work patriotically, unfettered by the negative things of the past and with its vision unobscured by the veil of factionalism and party membership.

It is true that significant numbers of young people were captive to party and sectarian loyalties, but this does not mean that we should disregard these youths now or in the future, because our country is in dire need of every hand to build and construct. Therefore, patriotic sentiment must be awakened among those youth by opening before them doors to directed, national work, so that that would help them to overcome their previous membership. Perhaps dialogue based on the credibility of the current status of the nation's issues is the basis for reaching these youths, for objective dialogue devoid of threats, which concentrates on the pledges the revolution has made to put the national interest of the Sudan above party loyalties, could overcome partisan fanaticism and pave the way to filling the gap between differing points of view. This is so that youth will find in the proposed work programs a genuine expression of the urgent issues of the nation.

What we need then is to formulate youth work programs filled with a pure national orientation, which will inspire patriotic feelings everywhere to extricate the country from what it is in, for the battle which we face today is national in nature, and fateful in orientation.

Some might believe that any national revolution must have its political philosophy so that it may have a well-defined view on various issues. The revolution of salvation, in condemning the systems that preceded it in all their forms and practices, has given expression to a new political line that will crystalize through the programs to be proposed to become a philosophy of a comprehensive political system with broad-based support.

Perhaps the political arena today swarms with many priorities which may be made the centers of national polarization for all social forces, in the forefront of which are the youth. Participating in development in all its aspects, and dealing with the problems of national, personal, and food security, are all appropriate ways to expand the circle of national work.

To make the building of a new youth movement possible, we must concentrate on having flexible organizational structures that will take into consideration the psychological and emotional makeup of youth. This segment is characterized by enthusiasm, emotion, and compusiveness, characteristics that are closely linked to youth by virtue of their age, so it ought to be viewed from this point of view. This ought to be dealt with within the framework of guidance programs, without us creating in youth the feeling that we are controlling them in any way. For youth by their nature are eager to take the initiative and rebel against practices in which they are

not interested. Therefore those working with youth need to know about these youthful tendencies, and to arm themselves with information that deals with identifying and analyzing the psychological and emotional makeup of this group.

Editorial Cites Benefits of Newly Formed Local Committees

900A0068B Khartoum AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAH in Arabic 17 Aug 89 p 3

[Commentary by 'Awadallah Sulayman]

[Text] The revolution of national salvation has stressed that it is eager that citizens take part in administering their affairs. It has also kept the promise it made to the masses, namely that the purpose of the revolution was to bring happiness to the Sudanese people and relieve them of hardship. Of course, the decision to form oversight and services committees will enable the citizens to participate actively in promoting and reviving services and devote all available resources to the service of the neighbourhoods, cities, and the countryside. They will also oversee the bakeries and important commodities to make sure that they are delivered to the citizens. No doubt the available energies of youth, their material potential, their explosive energy, and their bright outlook can help to a great extent in the move toward change and development.

The decree appealed to all honorable, loyal citizens to participate in the workings of these committees.

Here we must benefit from previous experience in forming the neighbourhood committees. The following may be noted from previous experience:

1. Aversion of citizens to participation in the committees, which weakened them and paralyzed their activity and reduced their strength and efficiency.
2. The irritations and disagreements that used to occur as a result of party conflicts among the members and groups. Each party used to work to weaken the other, which forced successive governments to form committees from the ruling parties, something that happened more than once. It is imperative that we keep this activity away from partisan conflict.
3. The decrees pertaining to dissolving and reforming the committees hampered many of their activities and the activities of many of the beneficial projects in the neighbourhoods. The last decree on dissolving the committees caused a lot of trouble, especially with respect to bread. Therefore the following is proposed:
 - That all honorable, loyal citizens take part in the oversight and services committees, that participation be collective, that the work done in solidarity, and that all citizens be favorable to the committees and offer them material and moral support, as long as

these committees are run by volunteers without remuneration.

- That we do away with the irritations and problems which used to arise between the oversight committees and bakery owners, and that there be complete coordination with all service establishments such as health, security, etc., so that the citizens will feel that these committees are helpful, and arose only to offer services to the citizens and for no other purpose.
- The persons who volunteer to work must nominate themselves as long as they are actually convinced that they are dedicated to the service of their society, for it has been seen that large numbers of young people

nominate themselves for volunteer work in the neighborhoods, but these people quickly disappear. The tasks that are laid upon their shoulders are not honorary, but rather a trust that we must all assume in the service of the citizens and to advance the society. No doubt the new experience with the formation of the oversight and services committees will greatly help the responsible authorities in taking on many duties and services, whenever complete coordination is achieved with these committees. So with God's blessing let us begin the earnest and fruitful work for a pure, healthy, and cohesive society.

Colonel 'Abd-al-Rahman Hasan 'Abd-al-Hafiz.

BANGLADESH

Shanti Bahini Regional Commander Surrenders

56500039 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 26 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] Chittagong, Sept 25—One Shanti Bahini Regional Commander surrendered to the security force at Khagrachhari sadar upazila headquarters Monday morning.

According to Khagrachhari district administration sources, the Shanti Bahini Regional Director, Mr Mihir Talukder, son of Mr Drito Kumar Talukder of Gurguidachari village under Khagrachhari district gave up arms availing the amnesty declared by the President. He was in charge of administration law and judiciary in the Shanti Bahini Command Council. Muhir Talukder, a graduate from Chittagong University joined the Shanti Bahini in 1986. He was also entrusted with the responsibility to keep an account of doles collected by the Shanti Bahini from Khagrachhari district. The 32-year-old Shanti Bahini Regional Commander quietly slipped away from his command post and appeared straight before the security force for surrender. He brought with him valuable documents relating to shanti Bahini activities. After his surrender, he reportedly confided to the security force that some other prominent Shanti Bahini men would soon surrender.

INDIA

Indian Banking Accord; Secrets Act Discussed

90EF0050Z Port Louis THE SUN
in French 12 Oct 89 p 8

[Article entitled: "'Offshore' Bankers May Be Required To Take Oath Under 'Secrets Act'"; passages within slantlines published in English]

[Text] The vice prime minister and minister of finances, Mr Vishnu Lutchmeenaraidoo, mentioned the possibility that "/offshore/" bankers might be asked to take oath under the /Secrets Act/ yesterday during the ceremony marking the signature of an agreement between the State Bank of India [SBI] and the State Commercial Bank [SCB] on their /Offshore Banking "joint venture."/

For the finance minister, such a measure would discourage information leaks and help create the necessary confidence in Mauritius's /offshore/ sector. The minister also stressed the necessity that the /offshore/ bankers be professionals of unimpeachable integrity. The latter requirement explains the presence of distinguished individuals from the international financial world on the board of directors of S.B. International Ltd, a company created to lead the /offshore/ bankers of the SBI/SCB tandem. The board of directors is composed of Messrs T.M.K. Reddy, /managing director/ of the SCB; B. Bhattacharya, assistant /managing director/ for SBI's

international banking operations; Madhukar Saxena, current head of SBI's /Offshore Banking Unit/ [OBU] in Bahrain; and S. Sawaikar.

The new company S.B. International Ltd has capital of 160 million rupees (10 million American dollars), held equally (49 percent by each of the two banks), with the remaining 2 percent belonging to the /State Investment Corporation (SIC)./

The minister of finances termed this SBI/SCB /joint venture "a milestone"/ in the banking industry and emphasized that Mauritius could only benefit given SBI's excellent international reputation.

In addition to its traditional activities, the /Offshore Banking Unit/ of S.B. International will support the development of trade relations between India and Mauritius, said Mr Bhattacharya. He also indicated that, besides financing imports and exports, the OBU intends to start up currency transactions.

The SBI will make its experience available to S. B. International. Thus, the OBU will have Mr Madhukar Saxena, who has 20 years of banking experience, as /Chief Executive./ He will be seconded by Mr N. R. Seshu, who manages the loan portfolio at the Paris SBI, and Mr Radhakrishnan, a specialist in currency operations. The SBI will also help train SCB executives.

In a statement to THE SUN, M.K. Reddy of the SCB indicated that the OBU/SCB/SBI would be operational in January of 1990 and that the "/offshore/" unit would be housed in the SICOM Building. Emphasizing that the SCB has 27 percent of the local banking market, he said that, with the "/joint venture/," the state bank would shine internationally.

Also present at yesterday's ceremony was His Excellency M.K. Rana, the new Indian high commissioner to Mauritius, who shared Mr Lutchmeenaraidoo's opinion that professionals were needed to head companies such as the /Offshore./ He said he was happy that the SCB had linked up with India's largest bank. The association, he added, /"will help to the development of further lustre and radiance of Mauritius on the international financial scene."/ [as published]

The SBI is a financial and investment firm, with a network of over 11,000 branch banks, the most farflung network ever maintained by a bank in the world. With assets of 50 billion U.S. dollars, the SBI, which employs 225,000 people, is the fifth-largest bank in Asia.

The SBI is ranked First-1 by Moody's Investors Service and A-2 by Standard and Poors, rankings recognized on all international financial markets.

The SBI maintains a strong presence on the great financial markets such as London, Paris, Frankfurt, Antwerp, New York, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Bahrain, as well as on the other financial markets through 42 branch banks scattered throughout 28 countries.

IRAN

Soviets Help Dig First Oil Well in Caspian*90OI0021F London KEYHAN in Persian 21 Sep 89 p 4*

[Text] The work for the excavation of the first Iranian oil well in the Caspian Sea began last week with the assistance of Soviet experts.

This well will be dug to a depth of 30,000 meters in an area 27 kilometers to the northwest of Bandar-e Pahlavi in the Caspian Sea. The National Iranian Oil Company has rented the excavation platform from the USSR.

Gholam Reza Aqazadeh who was speaking at the ceremonies for the start-up of the excavation operation for this well, with regard to the Caspian Sea-bed oil reserves stated that Iran can exploit more than one billion barrels of oil from the Caspian Sea. He also noted that the capacity of the first well is about 18 million barrels. He estimated the cost for excavation of the well at 25 million dollars.

Furthermore, Aqazadeh announced that a 70-million dollar agreement has also been reached with a Finnish company for the production of excavation platforms in the Caspian Sea.

New Law-Enforcement Agency To Be Created*90OI0021B London KEYHAN in Persian 5 Oct 89 p 3*

[Text] In the very near future with the submission of a bill by the government of the Islamic Republic to the Islamic Consultative Assembly, the Police Department, the Gendarmerie, and all of the Revolutionary Committees will be merged into a single organization called "the Police of the Revolution."

Hojjat ol-Eslam Montajab-Nia, representative of the Vali-e Faqih [Jurisconsult] at the Police Department, while making the above statement also added: There is no doubt that this Islamic Republic nation is in need of a very strong law-enforcement agency, and the goal of this merging process is to bring ever closer together the forces of the gendarmerie, the Committees, and the Police Department. By merging the three agencies, we hope we will be able to see a strong and unified law-enforcing organization which will eliminate many unnecessary duplications.

Montajab-Nia went on to say that the new law-enforcement force will be called "the Police of the Revolution."

The experience of creating the Islamic Revolutionary Committees alongside the Police Department, although at the beginning of the revolution could somewhat reduce the regime's fear of the Police Department, but it did not last long when the members of the Committees, through use of force, law-breaking, and harsh treatment of the people made themselves into a unpopular and

abhorrent group which became synonymous with transgression, corruption, and bribery. Many of the Islamic Revolutionary Committees became and still are centers for the purchase and sale of everyday essential goods, liquors, and narcotics.

At the same press interview, Brigadier Nik-Nejad, chief of the Police Department, spoke of the insufficient budget and other deficiencies within the said department and attributed all to the problems of the war. Despite the ever-increasing number of the law-enforcement forces, the chief of the Islamic Police Department added: The deficiency of the law-enforcement forces is greatly felt in the country, therefore, one of our programs consists of hiring young forces.

The police chief further stated that a new unit called "security force" which belongs to the Police Department, equipped with new personnel carriers, will be added to the law-enforcement units of the country.

Protocol Signed To Import Electricity From Turkey*90OI0040B London KEYHAN in Persian 26 Oct 89 p 4*

[Text] Just as the announcement was being made of the dismissal from Turkey of the congregational prayer imam of the Iranian mosque and with the significant obscuring of the political relations between Tehran and Ankara, the officials of the Ministry of Energy of the Islamic Republic announced that Turkey will soon take steps to export electricity to the Islamic Republic.

The Islamic Republic News Agency [IRNA] announced, some time ago, a report from Ankara stating that on the basis of a protocol signed between the Tavanir company of the Islamic Republic and the electricity agency of Turkey, from the beginning of 1990, that country will export electricity to Iran for 10 years. This news agency reported that Turkey will export 100 million kilowatt hours of electricity to Iran.

The IRNA report added: "The protocol for transmitting electrical energy from Turkey to Iran, which was signed last Esfand [20 February-20 March] between the Tavanir company of the Islamic Republic, the regional electricity agency of Azarbaijan, and the electricity agency of Turkey, was approved by the Turkish Cabinet and was reported in the official newspapers of that country. According to this agreement, the electrical transmission centers of Maku in the Islamic Republic and 'Daghu Bayazid' in Turkey will be connected by a 154-kilowatt electrical power transmission line."

The above-mentioned news agency added: "In addition, the two countries have also reached agreement in the area of building an electrical energy transmission line with a capacity of 400 kilowatts. With the creation of this line, the electricity agency of Turkey will be able to transmit 125 million kilowatt hours of electricity to the Azarbaijan electricity network annually."

KEYHAN published in Tehran also wrote in this connection: "Based on the protocol, it is projected that 100 million kilowatt hours of electricity will be exported annually to the Islamic Republic." This amount of electricity can increase and or decrease by 25 percent, according to the request of the regional electricity organization of Azarbaijan.

In its report, this newspaper pointed out that the price of electricity will be determined on the basis of existing trade agreements between the two countries. Accordingly, if either side should change its mind before the end of the 10 years of the agreement, they will be obliged to pay damages.

KEYHAN published in Tehran added: "Should Iran renege, it shall pay \$1.7 million, and should the electricity agency of Turkey renege, it shall pay \$3.33 million in damages."

Paper Reports Regime's 'Failure' in Education

90010021A London KEYHAN in Persian 12 Oct 89 p 5

[Text] With the start of the new school year in Iran, some new information and statistics concerning the number of the schools and students and the overall situation of education has been published.

The published information in this regard indicate a complete failure of the Islamic regime in the matter of education and training and the total disregard of the Islamic authorities to this vital issue.

According to the statistics published by the Ministry of Education and Training, every year 20 percent of the school-age children will never be able to set foot inside a school. The depravity of this group of the country's children from the blessing of education at the end of the 20th century, will undoubtedly create serious problems and deficiencies for the Iranian society during the future decades.

While 10 years ago the total number of the country's students reached about 11 million, yet according to the published statistics by the Ministry of Education, 8 years later, namely during school-year 1965-66 [23 September 1986 - 21 June 1987] the total number of students still remained the same. However, 2 years later namely during the 1967-68 school year [23 September 1988 - 21 June 1989] all of a sudden the total number increased by 2 million and it reached 14 million a year thereafter.

The official statistics of the Ministry of Education and Training shows that even if 20 percent of the eligible school-age children were deprived of schooling at all, at least there are one million new children who will be ready to join the wave of the current students annually and thus by the year 1372 [1993] the total number of the country's students will reach more than 17 million.

In the five-year plan which is right now under study by Rafsanjani's cabinet, it has been said that for 1993 for 17 million students, the country will need a total of 123,000

schools in order to accommodate these students. However, at present the number of existing schools throughout the country has not reached 70,000 yet. Now this big question comes to mind that even if the Islamic government still remains in power by then, how could it be able to build 53,000 more new schools, or whether perhaps will it be able to build even one-tenth, namely 5,300 schools during the period in question.

Five-Shift Schools

Before the Islamic revolution handed over all the responsibilities to the clerics, and before some individuals such as Dr Najafi was chosen to be the minister of education there was not even one single two-shift school throughout Iran. However, now according to the reports published by the official authorities of the Islamic Republic, you can hardly find a school anywhere in Iran which does not have a two-shift program, of course there are many schools throughout the country which have even a five-shift program.

For example, the Tehran KEYHAN newspaper, in its issue of 2 Mehr [24 September] reports that there is only one primary school in Borujerd with a one-shift program, but the rest of the primary and secondary schools have become two-shift schools. Borujerd's director of education, in an interview with the Tehran KEYHAN, has stated that all of that city's kindergartens, except 20 which are assigned to the employees of the education department or other government agencies and their working spouses, as a result of a shortage of teaching space have all been closed. The interesting thing here is that in the same issue of the aforementioned newspaper there is a report concerning the incomparable talent of a number of students from one of Borujerd's high schools. The report mentions that 70 students who graduated from Bahrol'olum High School of that city all passed the math-physics college entrance examinations. Now Bahrol'olum High School has also joined the ranks of two-shift high schools as well.

Experts from the Ministry of Education and Training have announced that the existence of two, three, four or even five-shift schools, which sometimes accept students for only 2 days a week, emphasizes this undeniable fact that the shortage of educational environment throughout the country has become a fundamental issue. The same experts have also told Tehran KEYHAN: We should remember that every year a large number of our school-age children will be deprived of this very primary right to enter a school, and many of the other students are undergoing basic educational training under circumstances where the excessive number of students, fatigue, and exhaustion of the teacher, unhealthy prevailing conditions make it impossible for the students to go through a period of proper growth.

Superficial Authorities

Last week in Khuzestan, Dr Najafi, the minister of education, confessed to the deficiencies of the country's

educational system and announced that in order to eliminate the prevalent deficient educational environment, he has been forced to prepare certain proposals whereby production plants and factories will have to build schools by allocating part of their revenue to the cause.

This same Islamic minister of education, who on Saturday 23 September took Hashemi Rafsanjani to two schools in Tehran in order to usher in the beginning of the school year, showed Rafsanjani not only a school where the teaching environment was not unbearable or where the students sat on the floor all the way from the rear wall to the front of the blackboard, but he showed him a classroom where there was ample room for each and every student.

We are not saying that if Hashemi Rafsanjani had gone to the typical school in the southern district of Tehran where 60 to 70 students are crammed into one classroom, he would take action to ameliorate the situation, but instead Dr Najafi could at least claim that he was portraying the truth and thus the picture in the newspapers would certainly show a corner of the prevailing fact throughout the nation.

Ship Building, Derrick Assembly To Be Established in Caspian

90OI0021C London KEYHAN in Persian 5 Oct 89 p 4

[Text] With the signing of a 65 million dollar contract with a Finnish company, the Islamic Republic will establish, along the Caspian Sea's shoreline, a ship building and derrick assembly factory for sea-bed excavation. Some time ago, the above statement was divulged to the mass media by Gholam Reza Aqazadeh, the Islamic Republic's minister of petroleum.

The aforementioned minister, who had traveled to Gilan province in order to inaugurate the first excavation derrick in the Caspian Sea, also announced that the contract for the construction of a ship building factory and a plant for the assembly of derricks is scheduled to be entered into soon with a Finnish company, and the said company has also agreed to transfer all of the pertinent technology and other technical information regarding the ship building industry and assembling of excavation derricks to the Sadra Company—an affiliate of the Ministry of Heavy Industries.

The Islamic Republic's minister of petroleum added: with the building of multi-thousand ton ships by the experts of the Sadra Company in the Caspian Sea, they will usher in a new great economic transformation in the region. The aforementioned minister with regard to the inauguration of the excavation derricks in the Caspian Sea, while pointing to the 39 existing excavation derricks of the USSR in the Caspian Sea, further added: Through the utilization of seismographical and geological data in the northern region of Anzali port, during the last 20 years there have been several attempts at excavations with no avail. Fortunately, with the expansion of the

relations between the Islamic Republic and the USSR, today we are witnessing excavation for one of the derrick assemblies.

In one segment of his press interview, Aqazadeh pointed out that the location of the ship building factory and that of the excavation derrick assembly will be the Neka area of Mazandaran. He said that within the next 3 years after these plants become properly operational, our country will become self-sufficient in the areas of derricks assembly, excavation equipment, and various other types of passenger and excavation ships.

PAKISTAN

Government and Opposition Vie for Power

90OI0011B Karachi JANG in Urdu 15 Sep 89 p 3

[Column by Abdul Qadir Hasan: "Gair Siyasi Baaten" "Nonpolitical Matters: The Government Is in Power and the Opposition Is in Power as Well"]

[Text] In spite of the inefficiencies of the federal and provincial governments and their lack of interest in the real problems of the people, politics in Pakistan is still confined to the halls of administration and the pages of newspapers. Although in the last few days there have been some confrontations over the questions of whether to hold large demonstrations and whether or not to strike, these activities have not been a part of any popular political movement.

Since some of the provincial governments do not belong to the same political party as the federal government, each side keeps giving positive demonstration of its power. For example, on 17 August, on the occasion of the first anniversary of Ziaul Haq's death, Nawaz Sharif exhibited his popular strength. Whereas on 6 September, the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] added its own martyr to the roster of national martyrs and gathered together a tremendous crowd in Rawalpindi on that day. On 5 September, supporters of Nawaz Sharif appealed for a strike to protest against the increase in electricity rates in Lahore, whereas their opponents tried to render the strike unsuccessful, and both parties had partial success. Lahore's business community refused to participate in the political rivalries of their betters. Thus, there were strikes in some places and none in others.

By and large, shopkeepers have said that some of their betters, who have been receiving permits for the construction of plazas from Nawaz Sharif, appealed for a strike but the time was not opportune. A strike should have been held after suitable notification to the government. Anyway, the business community, which is generally in unity in matters concerning its business interest, is not yet willing to get involved and jump into politics. The people are still weary from the unequaled country-wide movement against Mr Bhutto. They have witnessed its bitter results and seen how, after the movement, some of their leaders became ministers and other office

holders in the martial law government. The people still regard these politicians as traitors to the blood of the movement's martyrs. There is one aspect of present day politics which has no precedent in Pakistan's history, namely, the situation concerning the composition and formation of the federal and provincial governments.

The irony is that the government is in power as well as in opposition. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto is in opposition to Nawaz Sharif, the chief minister of Punjab, and Nawaz Sharif is Benazir's opposition. Both are more or less responsible for creating problems for the people, and neither can assert innocence while accusing the other of guilt. Both are guilty before the people. Although the people have not yet set up their court, whenever such a court is formed, both will be indicted for crime. One may receive harsher punishment than the other, but both could be punished. Benazir is of course the present target because it was her government and not Nawaz Sharif who raised electricity rates and this rise has sent the price of necessities soaring higher than the sky. Prices in Nawaz Sharif's province are as high as in Qaim Ali Shah or Sher Pao's province.

The responsibility for the situation which exists in the country, from the state of law and order to the high prices, rests partly on the federal government and partly on the provincial governments. The average man has to struggle night and day to earn enough for two square meals a day. Politics is a luxury for him. He is neither a member of the PPP nor of the Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad [JI]. He is totally absorbed in his own affairs.

I had a survey conducted for my weekly periodical which showed that the people, surrounded by various difficulties in their daily lives, are utterly disgusted with politicians and rulers. A vast majority of them said that their politicians were not confronted by any of the problems facing the people. The politicians, they said, were rich and influential. The rise in electricity rates posed no hardship for them. Law and order was not their problem, and they could not even imagine what poverty and deprivation meant. So why should we, the people said, become political fuel for such disinterested people. Their problems, nevertheless, are created by disappointment from both sides. The people need leadership from a third direction and no such leadership is visible. Thus, a vacuum exists. At present, no one can predict as to who will fill this vacuum, but it is said that a vacuum does not exist for long but is always filled.

JI Leader Interviewed on Situation in Pakistan

90010041A Cairo AL-ITISAM
in Arabic Oct 89 pp 15-17

[Interview with Qazi Husain Ahmad, leader of Jamaat-e-Islami, by Ahmad Mansur in Pakistan on 10 September 89]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[Mansur] How do you evaluate the stage through which Pakistan has been passing since the assassination of Ziaul Haq and up to this day? How do you view Pakistan's future?

[Qazi Husain] Since the assassination of Ziaul Haq—may God's mercy be upon him—and up to this day, Pakistan has been experiencing some kind of instability that is manifest in internal disturbances and unstable security, particularly in the Sind province. Ethnic strife between the Muhajirs and the Sindhis have escalated in Karachi and Hyderabad, developing in some instances into the exchange of missile attacks between the two sides. This situation constitutes a danger threatening the country's internal structure. Also, incidents of highway banditry, looting of homes, and the kidnapping of individuals, particularly businessmen held for the payment of large ransoms by their kinsfolk, have been widespread. When an incident of this kind happened during Ziaul Haq's regime, the common accusation was that the military government was the cause.

On the level of internal politics, the dispute between the local Punjab government and the federal government has widened. [passage omitted]

[Mansur] What are the symptoms of the government's secular orientation and what efforts are you making in order to preserve Pakistan's Islamic identity?

[Qazi Husain] The symptoms of the government's secular orientation assume different forms, but the media is playing a major role in this regard. This is obvious in the films, programs, and play series being broadcast by the media. Also certain secular issues are being raised, such as a woman's rights and her equality with men in inheritance and in giving testimony. They [the secularists] also attack Islamic shari'ah [Islamic code of law], the penal code, and Pakistan's previous policy in this regard. They are also seeking to convince the public that rule by a woman is not against the shari'ah and are striving to strengthen secularism by retiring or dismissing all leadership with Islamic inclinations or transferring them to uninfluential positions and replacing them with secularly inclined personalities. The most significant change recently was the appointment of a secular person as director of television. This person met with the television staff and, according to what one of these staff informed me, he told them: We must proceed steadily with our new media policy. If we meet with public opposition, especially to dance programs, we must follow the policy of taking four steps forward and two steps backward. Thus we would go on gaining two steps forward until we achieve our objectives. The same thing goes for most of the ministers in the government and of persons in key positions whose only link to religion is the claim of belonging to it.

[Mansur] Are there any points of agreement between you and the present government?

[Qazi Husain] We support the government in nothing because the difference between us is radical. If the

government has adopted some of the policies we advocate or support, this does not mean that we agree with it, because if disagreement is fundamental, any marginal rapprochement will lead to no results.

[Mansur] The Pakistani government's policy toward the Afghan problem is beginning to change remarkably at a time when international pressures on the mujahidin are mounting. What is your attitude toward this change?

[Qazi Husain] The basic issue in the present government's relations with the mujahidin is that the mujahidin have no confidence in the government. Confidence was the basic element that existed in Ziaul Haq's relations with the mujahidin. When Ziaul Haq died and the government and the regime changed, the mujahidin's distrust in the government became apparent.

The second point is that the present government has made no efforts to unify the mujahidin's ranks, while Ziaul Haq exerted considerable efforts in this regard.

Moreover, the Pakistani government's secular inclinations drives it toward pursuing a line opposed to the establishment of "Islamic rule" in Afghanistan. [passage omitted]

We support the mujahidin's interim government. This government is the fundamental basis of any form of government in Afghanistan. It is the one that decides which personalities are to be included in it. Neither Russia, nor America, or any party has the right to impose on the mujahidin or their government any type of regime or form of government.

[Mansur] How do you evaluate the Pakistani-Indian rapprochement now taking place in the relations between the two countries?

[Qazi Husain] Our attitude toward India is clear. There are basic problems between us and them, the most important being the problem of Kashmir. [passage omitted]

But we have been surprised by the present government signing several agreements with India...in fact, too many of them. These agreements, including the cultural agreements, are contrary to the country's higher interests. We wonder what kind of culture will India bring to our country other than the Hindi and secular cultures? Pakistan is a Muslim country whose roots and noble origin we must preserve. We see no clear reason for this rapprochement, other than that it is succumbing to international pressures which the United States and other countries bring to bear on Pakistan. Their only aim behind this is for Pakistan to become a secular state.

[Mansur] Plans are now underway to establish an alliance between Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and the forthcoming regime in Afghanistan. How do you view the dimensions of this alliance?

[Qazi Husain] [passage omitted] These matters raise question marks with regard to the proposed alliance. In

principle we are not against the establishment of an alliance between Pakistan and any other state that could lead to achieving certain interests for Pakistan. But we are opposed to all these alliances because they materialize only at the behest of and in accordance with plans by Western countries that do not want our country to be free of their influence and domination. We would rather see alliances established on doctrinal basis between the Islamic countries, alliances that would preserve their entities and religion, and enable them to become an influential force vis-a-vis the infidel forces rather than be their surrogate. [passage omitted]

[Mansur] How did you allow the National Party, which is known for its communist inclinations, to join the ranks of the Islamic Alliance, and a few days later declare its withdrawal from it?

[Qazi Husain] The National Party did not join the Islamic Alliance; it only adopts certain stands that support or agree with the programs of the Islamic Alliance which is opposed to the People's Party. Agreement of views sometimes occurs, but this is not an alliance. And in view of the fact that the local government in the border province is weak and facing strong opposition, the National Party sometimes stands with the Islamic Alliance against this government's policy. But we are aware and fully realize that this party is opposed to the Afghan struggle and is loyal both to Moscow and India. We therefore deal with it only on this basis. We give them no concessions whatsoever in return for the support which they sometimes demonstrate toward our programs.

[Mansur] Finally, in light of the atmosphere of freedom which Pakistan is experiencing, what are the Jamaat-e Islami's future plans to bolster its mainstays in the Pakistani society?

[Qazi Husain] Jamaat-e Islami is making various efforts toward this end. These include encouraging youths to assume leadership induced by the spirit of renovation and the quest to broaden the base of action. This experiment has yielded clear results in the past period. We have also begun disseminating our call through mosques and through talking to people in the streets. [passage omitted]

Also, the Jamaat-e Islami has a number of professional organizations, including an organization each for physicians, professors, teachers, workers, and farmers. There is also the Federation of Islamic Students which is the Jamaat-e's student organization. All of these are independent bodies, but they are based on the Jamaat-e's guidance and principles. Through these organizations the Jamaati Islami is seeking to reach all classes of the Pakistani people and to have a distinct influence among them. We hope that during the coming period we will be able to surmount many of the obstacles we are facing. Illiteracy of the Pakistani people and the widespread

ignorance among its various factions are the main obstacles which we are trying to overcome. We pray God that He may give us success on this path.

Sindh Separatism Viewed

Administration Urged To Take Action

90OI0017A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT
in Urdu 13 Oct 89 p 3

[Text] Federal Interior Minister Chaudhry Aitzaz Ahsan, speaking in the National Assembly, appealed to the opposition "to cooperate with the Government in the Sukkur incident because it is a national issue and every patriotic Pakistani is concerned about it." The interior minister alleges that the former Martial Law regime's allies extended a courteous welcome to G.M. Syed, and it is necessary to unmask these people. He said that after the arrest of G.M. Syed, the leader of the Jiye Sindh movement, the situation demands concrete action. Allegations have not solved any problems in the past and they are not going to solve any problems in the future. There is no need to tell the people, time and again, who is sending flowers to G.M. Syed, who has been attending his birthdays, who is now driving his car, who is furnishing him with food, and who is providing him with an audience. These allegations are not the solution to the problem. The government should bring the law and order machinery into action on the basis of solid evidence, without any kind of partiality. Since G.M. Syed's arrest, there have been other instances of agitation in Sindh, and the rangers had to be called in for help. The "Jiye Sindh Students Federation" is celebrating Black Day on Thursday. Instead of getting involved in the allegations, the federal interior minister should devote his attention to asking his agencies to be on the alert, so that the arrest may not assume the proportion of a crisis. The government should devote its attention to closing all of the loopholes, especially in light of Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani's disclosure that subversive elements have been infiltrating from the Sindh border. The government should have closed all of the borders and blocked the entrance of the subversive elements and terrorists. The boldness with which the Hindu population in the border areas is carrying out anti-Pakistani activities is indeed very surprising. These activities are no longer a secret. During 1983 and 1986, the way in which political movements were turned into violence and terrorism is only a part of recent history and is there for everyone to see. India has established the headquarters of the secret organization "RA" [expansion unknown] in Rajasthan, just on the opposite side of Sindh, and it is from here that India controls anti-Pakistani activities. G.M. Syed's book "Pakistan Is About to Disintegrate" was published under the auspices of this organization. The (Sindhi) Hindus living on the other side of the border are not prepared to allow themselves to be merged inside India. In recent years, during a gathering of Hindus, the demand for a greater

Sindhu Desh was supported. The former president, general Mohammed Ziaul Haq, held the subversive elements on the other side of the border responsible for the bloodshed and carnage that took place inside Sindh in 1986. During a press briefing last month, the current chief of staff, General Mirza Aslam Beg, said that India is involved in the incidents taking place in Sindh. The truth of the matter is that the present situation in Sindh did not occur overnight, but has been taking place openly for the past many years. During the present elections, the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] received overwhelming support in Sindh. Against this, the defeat of all the separatist elements gave rise to the hope that, on the basis of the people's support, the PPP would be able to boldly solve all of the problems facing Sindh. The fact that the prime minister and the provincial government in Sindh have taken notice of G.M. Syed's recent activities is certainly good news. A lawsuit has been filed against the desecration of the national flag, and many arrests have been made. G.M. Syed, the leader of the Jiye Sindh movement, has been placed under house arrest at his residence in Karachi. Now, it is necessary to take the lawsuit to its natural conclusion and if the Federal Government, including the interior minister and the Sindh administration, focus on one point they will be doing good service to the nation and the country. The federal interior minister himself had proposed an all party conference on the Sindh issue, which he later forgot. Now, he is appealing to the opposition to cooperate, when the latter does not seem to be prepared for this kind of work. The entire responsibility now falls on the Government. We pray that the government will succeed against the traitors and separatists.

'Sindhu Desh' Demand Said Hollow

90OI0017B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT
in Urdu 13 Oct 89 p 3

[Article by Ibnul Hasan]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The concepts "Sindhu Desh" and "Jiye Sindh" are basically unscientific. This is the reason why for the past 44 years the efforts of G.M. Syed and his supporters, despite the wholehearted participation of a country with abundant resources like India, could not make the people living on the sacred and holy soil of Sindh province conform with their views. During the past 4 decades, they have no doubt troubled and harassed the Pakistani nation, but during these 40 years they have not recorded even the slightest progress in their personal records. Scientific or practicable actions are never so unsuccessful. This concept had to wait for at least 25 years before there was an event in the light of which it could justify itself.

Thus, the establishment of Bangladesh was taken as a logic and justification for this concept, and as proof of its practicability. The people of Pakistan have been rightly and mentally concerned about the establishment of Bangladesh. Because of the lack of analysis of its causes based on facts after this tragedy, now whenever they hear

even the simplest sound about separation of any part of Pakistan the whole nation starts shaking and trembling. This fear is not baseless. On the other hand, the matter is not serious either. We should not ignore all of the geographic, cultural, and military facts of Bangladesh as against the unity of the existing four provinces of Pakistan, their regional bond, their relationship of interest, the proportion of population, the social design, basic administrative military structures, and start believing whatever happened in East Pakistan, which was near to the heart but far apart from the body, can also happen to the unity of the four provinces which are linked by mind, body, and soul into one entity called the dear homeland—Pakistan.

Many people easily conclude that because Sindh Desh has the support of India, the Jiye Sindh movement, God forbid, will succeed in separating it from Pakistan. Is it possible to accomplish this task without a full scale war with India, and will Pakistan's 100 million people hand over, without a struggle, an entire province or part of a province to India as a gesture of open-heartedness just for the pleasure of G.M. Syed? Is it possible for India to seize Pakistan without a large scale bloody war of destruction, and, God forbid, without Sindh being under the control of India can there be a Sindh Desh, and finally can occupied territory become a free and independent country? Can India, God forbid, establish Sindh Desh and, after handing it over to G. M. Syed, go back home coolly. Can the 100 million people of Pakistan, in whose presence all of this would be taking place, seeing that the house called the Sindh in the homeland is empty invade it and reestablish its national status once again. Will all of this take place within the [present] political setup in Sindh which exhibits differences of opinion without anybody's nose bleeding?

Making unscientific statements, harassing the nation, maintaining one's own status, spreading hatred is a different matter. To put all this into practice is something different. Not only is it impossible, but whatever is concealed in this for both nations is not hidden from the seriousminded circles in India. Only stupid people in India will be preparing to participate in G. M. Syed's "Maha Bharat"—"Greater India." But this is possible and this is just what is taking place. That India, with the help of G. M. Syed, will be able to put Pakistan in a state of confusion and instability so that Pakistan should never be able to prosper politically, socially, and economically. This was something for our statesmen, our affluent people, our scholars, and the men of thinking, economic and political leadership to think about. Sindh expects these people to be forbearing and understanding.

Pakistan's flag is just like an innocent and beautiful child. It is something that can be burned by people exhibiting a fit of madness and can implant in its place whichever flag they like. But by doing this, the solid and unshaking truth cannot be changed. Pakistan is a solid and unshaken fact.

Intellectual Discusses Standard of Living, Illiteracy

90010025A Karachi JANG (Supplement)
in Urdu 6 Oct 89 p VI

[Interview with Professor Anis Alam by Zubeir Rana; date and place not specified]

[Text] Dr Anis Alam is a professor in the Physics Department at the University of Punjab. He spent quite some time in Britain and Italy in connection with his studies. Quite frequently, he travels to foreign countries to attend international conferences. In addition to his own special subject, physics, he engages in research on the mutual relationship between science, technology, and development, and he is quite well-known inside the country as well as internationally in this field. Below is an account of the interview with Professor Alam.

[JANG] It is 42 years since Pakistan gained its independence. However, illiteracy, disease, and general economical and social backwardness still prevail in the country. What are the basic reasons and how can we put an end to these shortcomings?

[Alam] The people of Pakistan perhaps may not agree with this fact, but because of brand new car models, the abundance of imported luxury goods, video cassette recorders, colored televisions, and the presence of such imported consumer goods, Pakistan ranks among the wealthy nations of the world. But the actual facts and figures prove it to be otherwise. When Pakistan gained its independence, the number of illiterate people was 30 million, which has now jumped to 75 million. Almost 8 million children are deprived of primary educational facilities. About 7 million children, who should have been in secondary schools, are deprived because of the lack of such educational institutions. If we were to take the young men between the ages of 20 and 24, then about 95 percent of them are deprived of this higher education. This year too, like previous years, Punjab University will be able to admit between 2 and 5 percent of the students in the MA/MSc [Master of Arts/Master of Sciences] classes. As far as education goes, this is the case. With regard to other facilities, only \$1 per person per annum is spent on medicine. Hospitals, medicine, and doctors are insufficient and, because of this shortage, the mortality rate, due to the different kinds of diseases, is enormous. The mortality rate among infants below the age of 1 is 7 percent, which is 8 times more than the mortality rate prevailing in developed countries. During pregnancy, out of every 100,000 women, 329 die. In the under developed countries, the mortality rate is 11 per 100,000. In our country, 70 percent of the people cannot procure clean drinking water. As a result of this, the deaths occurring from diseases due to unclean water comprise 40 percent of the total deaths.

More than 50 percent of the people in our country live in one room houses. An average of 6 people live in a one room house. More than two-thirds of the houses are built of clay. 70 percent of the houses do not have faucets;

two-thirds do not have toilets; 80 percent do not have separate bath rooms. Instead of improving, the housing situation is becoming worse, because the Pakistani population's rate of growth is more than 3 percent annually. The average age of a person in Pakistan is 53 years, whereas in under developed countries it is 63 years. Pakistan enjoys one other privilege. In most of the countries of the world, the average age of women is more than that of men, but in Pakistan it is the other way around. The above facts and figures pertain to our social life. Now let us talk about our economical conditions. After 42 years of independence, our economy is following the same lines laid down by the English. Our exports consist mainly of raw materials (e.g. cotton, rice, fish, shrimp etc. hides, fruits, and vegetables), half raw materials (thread, leather), and manufactured goods like cloth, carpets, and shoes. Products involving the use of high technology are next to none in our exports. Compared to this, our imports mainly consist of manufactured goods (machinery, cars, chemical goods, petrol, etc.). Industry contributes hardly 28 percent to our national income. 52 percent of our total man power is still engaged with agriculture, even though agricultural products contribute 23 percent of our total national income.

The presence of Pakistan's cultural backwardness can be seen in the limited book, journal, and newspaper publications. In a country with a population of 100 million, the publication of daily newspapers is hardly 1 million. Only 500 new books are published in Pakistan every year. A majority of these books are on religion and literature. The publication of books on science and technology are next to none. The scientists and technical experts publish barely 200 reports every year. There are about 500 thousand new research reports published worldwide. The scientists in our neighboring country India publish one hundred times more scientific reports than Pakistan. If we talk about literature, then the number of serious novels and dramas during the past 40 years do not even reach one hundred.

I think that the facts and figures given above will convince our readers that the general social and economic conditions in Pakistan are the victims of backwardness.

[JANG] You have presented a very disappointing and hopeless account of the situation in Pakistan. But there has been some progress made as well. Our national income is continuously increasing. Professor Abdus Salam, Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan, Professor Saleemuzzaman Siddiqui are well-known figures in the world. Looking at their presence, how can you say that Pakistan is a backward nation?

[Alam] It is quite correct that our national income is continuously rising. During the last 25 years, the rate of increase has been between 5 and 6 percent. But this increase has been in the vicinity of the average development of some 40 countries. Secondly, the increase in the national wealth has not benefitted the vast majority of

the common people. Only a very small minority of the people, numbering not more than a few hundred thousand and comprising of not more than 2 percent of the total population, swallows up the whole increase. Just as I have proved from the facts and figures, if education, public health, and the availability of other social facilities are taken into consideration, Pakistan's position goes down considerably. For example, if we were to look at Pakistan's position among 142 nations, from the point of view of national income, then Pakistan ranks 109th. But from the point of view of literacy, Pakistan drops still further to 120th position. From the point of view of children in schools to 129th position, from the point of view of public health to 128th position. Sri Lanka, which lags behind Pakistan in national income, is 50, 35, and 109 positions ahead of Pakistan respectively in these fields. Then again, taking into account the average age of the people, Sri Lanka is 50 positions ahead of Pakistan and, from the point of view of availability of hospital beds, it is 69 positions ahead of Pakistan. From the standpoint of the child mortality rate, it stands 59 positions ahead of Pakistan. To say the least, from whichever angle you view this, it can easily be proved that the majority of the people of Pakistan are deprived of the fruits of development.

[JANG] What should be done to get rid of this situation?

[Alam] In my view, there is no shortcoming in the Pakistani people. They are diligent, hardworking, energetic, and wise. Individually, thousands of Pakistanis have introduced Pakistan to the world of science, technology, banking, and art. But as a whole, the Pakistani nation is very behind on the road to progress. The people responsible for this state of affairs are, in part, the different governments which have been in charge from time to time and, secondly, the intellectuals, religious scholars, and experts, who did not provide the people with the right kind of leadership, and kept them involved with indirect kinds of factional, linguistic, religious, and sectarian disputes. Long-term planning has been completely discarded. They kept their knowledge and wisdom dependent on the advice and tactics of the experts imported from abroad. They made international organizations, such as the World Bank and the IMF, the undisputed heads of their absolute legal authority. This is why there has been no change in our basic economic structure. Landlordism, which was done away with in the west in the last century and which was legally abolished by India and Korea immediately after gaining independence, prevails to this day in Pakistan. More than 30 percent of the agricultural land is in the hands of less than 0.5 percent of the owners of the land. Because landlordism is rampant, the fruits of new scientific research and progress can not be used to the fullest extent. Pakistan produces only one-fourth of the wheat, rice, cotton, and sugar-cane produced in the rest of the world.

To tell the truth, the people of Pakistan have been separated from the government's official business. The

groups holding power over the undemocratic governments, instead of looking after the interests of the people, kept in mind only the interest of individuals and groups and used all of the country's resources for their own progress. Now, when democratic governments are once again in power in the federal and provincial levels, it is necessary to work out long term and short term policies. There should be general debate on these policies, so that unanimous decisions may be made, and Pakistan may be able to get rid of its general backwardness and join the ranks of the civilized nations of the world.

[JANG] Will you please say something about these short term policies, and explain them.

[Alam] Why not. I believe that there is nothing unusual about these policies. In the last century, Japan and the Soviet Union and in the last 40 years China, Korea, Singapore, Hongkong, Brazil, and India have made significant progress in industry. Science and technology have played a great role in the progress of these countries. Science and technology are the only two resources which can be used to increase, by the required amount, the necessary goods (food, consumer goods, drugs, medicines, etc.) and the necessary facilities (water, electricity, energy, transport, etc.) for the people. To make progress in science and technology, the most important step is to root out illiteracy completely and provide 100 percent primary education. Secondary education should be gradually increased to 100 percent. Education should be made purposeful and professional, and greater stress should be placed on scientific research and progress in higher education. I am fully confident that if we were to make up our mind as one nation to get rid of our backwardness then, by the first decade of the next century, we will have transferred ourselves into a prosperous, sound, and educated society.

In conclusion, I would briefly like to make the following suggestions:

- We will have to work out a scientific plan, whereby we can prepare a large group of science scholars and technical experts, so that the research organization's of our educational institutions can become self-sufficient in the high standards of research and educational matters.
- With the help of the available scientific scholars and scientific knowledge, we will have to take the necessary steps to achieve the established goals. Among these are providing clean water, energy for the poor quarters of the villages and cities, safety inoculations for all the children, wiping out illiteracy completely, increasing the supply of energy using the traditional and nontraditional ways, manufacturing machinery and equipment for defence.
- We will have to synchronize our development projects with the science and technology projects, so that we may be able to use science and technology for our general social progress.

I am hopeful that, with the above-mentioned measures, we will be able to develop our agricultural and our mineral resources, and our manpower to the fullest extent. This will in turn usher in an era of general prosperity.

Leftist Ideology Reexamined

46000037C Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
12 Oct 89 p 40

[Text] Your editorial "Left unity" (September 28) after the first conference of the Qaumi Inquilabi Party [QIP] accepts its limitation to "pass any definitive comments", but goes on nevertheless to question the launching of another Left party. You wonder over the plausibility of "floating another organization", on the pretext of the desirable objective of Left unity, in the presence of "well-established groups like the Left Democratic Front and the Pakistan national Party". You also—this time aptly—show your dismay over the ANP [Awami National Party]'s alliance with the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad], precipitating a vacuum on this side of the political fence, "because the ANP was, after all, the major party of the Left". You add that "Mir Ghaus Bux Bizenjo's death has deepened the vacuum".

You have juxtaposed the formation of the QIP and the broader question of Left unity. These two are complementary, not contradictory. Lumping the two will only confuse issues.

The processes of unification and alignment at both levels, i.e., unification of Marxist groupings and a broader alignment of anti-imperialist and radical democratic forces, has got ahead in the last few years. The unified Marxist organization, the Communist Party of Pakistan, following traditional tactics, joined hands with the PNP [Pakistan National Party] to further the unification process of national democratic and progressive forces, to play an effective role in mainstream politics. With the backing of Leftists, the PNP took the initiative to form a broader anti-imperialist platform. But the ANP was formed with the unification of only three-and-a-half parties, and with the initiator opting out at the eleventh hour, thus creating an imbalance in the newly-formed party and a self-imposed isolation. The ANP did play quite a positive role in the given circumstances, as a major anti-imperialist detachment. Left sectarianism and the narrow nationalistic tendencies of stalwarts on both sides complicated the situation, but the advocates of unification continued to hold their ground in the interests of anti-imperialist and democratic objectives.

In the meanwhile, the Left-wing of the ANP concentrated on a critical evaluation of the past, and evolved a theoretical and strategic perspective, based upon a creative, scientific analysis of our society and thus dispensed with blind dogmatism, ready made formula and the Stalinist pattern of organization. With this painstaking home work, it reoriented and reorganized its ranks. The Third Congress, in April 1989, provided the necessary basis for a new leap. It had reached the

conclusion that the tradition of forming NAP [National Awami Party] -type parties, in spite of their useful progressive role and substantial contribution, had pre-empted the growth of a working class party and had led to two negative consequences—the growth of isolated, conspiratorial subsidiaries on the one hand and of the amalgamation of the Left into broad-based democratic parties. In the light of this, it was decided, in principle, not to repeat the 'traditional' form of so-called 'united front' parties in the future.

With the ANP's somersault under the influence of its Right-wing and its alignment with the most reactionary, authoritarian and fundamentalist forces, it became altogether impossible for the Left to become a party to this devastating reversal. Instead of dividing the ANP after the refusal of the leadership to convene a Central Committee meeting to consider this 180-degree turn, the Left decided to disassociate itself from the ANP. Just as it would have been treacherous on our part to abandon the ANP while it was playing a principled democratic and anti-imperialist role and was under attack from all pro-imperialist forces, it would have been a betrayal of democratic gains to remain hand-in-glove with the ANP after its alignment with the authoritarian forces in their drive to destabilize the fragile democratic order. These changes necessitated the launching of the Qaumi Inquilabi Party in such a swift manner.

The QIP was originally planned as a platform to adapt the concept of a working class party to the conditions of our own country and the requirements of the present historical stage of democratic revolution. But its calls for unity had a positive response from three other organizations. Hence, the first conference turned into a unity conference.

This is how, in combination with the three other organizations, the Qaumi Inquilabi Party has been collectively launched. These three organizations, the Watan Dost Inquilabi Party, the Communist Party led by Hassam Rafiq, and the Inquilabi Jamhoori Party, were components of the Left Democratic Front, which refused to turn itself into a single party in spite of a strategic consensus reached earlier. It was and is still possible that all Left organizations, rejecting the dogmatism and sectarianism of the past, strive for ideological and organizational unity through a well-prepared, united congress; the QIP is solemnly committed, without reservations, to this noble objective and would welcome all positive proposals from any side in this regard.

The emergence of the Qaumi Inquilabi Party is a very opportune step, to build up a new democratic, humane, and legitimate image of the Left, develop a revolutionary culture, build up a mass base and mass organization and unify all the best in the Left movement.—Imtiaz Alam, Secretary, Department of Ideology and International Affairs, Qaumi Inquilabi Party.

Violence in Institutions of Higher Education Analyzed

90010044A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu
27 Oct 89 pp 1,7

[Analytical Report by Niaz Ahmad Madani: "Educational Institutions or Centers of Murder? Kalashnikov Rule in Educational Institutions"]

[Text] The crisp morning of Sunday 8 July was the first day of posting the final admission list for Karachi University. A crowd of new and returning students had gathered in the corridors and lawns of the university. The new students looked at the venerable atmosphere of Karachi University with excitement and interest and consulted the older students about various aspects of the university. Some of the students talked about the clash between two student organizations at Urdu Science College the previous day, which resulted in the hospitalization of 18 wounded students.

Suddenly, the peaceful atmosphere of Karachi University was shattered by the staccato sound of bullets being fired from all sides. The naive and the innocent fled from this unexpected calamity. The educational institution provided its walls and doors to the students looking for protection. The angle of death still managed to make its target, three youths in the lobby of the Arts Building. Two of the nation's future hopes, Harun-ul Rasheed and Aziz Allah, died right there leaving their parents, friends, and relatives to suffer grief and despair. Saheel Rasheed, the third student, died from his wounds later in the hospital. Quiet a few students were admitted into hospitals for treatment of the wounds suffered from these horrid firearms. Everyone cried with grief when the joint funeral of the three promising youths passes them the next day. Two and half month after this incident, on the morning of 21 September, three S.M. Science College students were eating halim [a kind of porridge] at a street vendor near the back gate of college. Suddenly a car coming from Business Road stopped near them and the youths riding in it opened fire on them, leaving the three youths and the vendor rolling in dust and blood. Student Nazir Hussain died on the spot while his two friends, Janed and Fazal, as well as the vendor, Mohammad Irshad, were taken to a hospital in very serious condition. A day before this horrible incident, some people wounded seven students at the Sindh Medical College. Besides these bloody incidents in Karachi, the valuable lives of many students have been lost and a number of students were hospitalized in other shameful incidents in Multan, Lahore, Islamabad, and Texila.

The first incident of student violence in Pakistan occurred in 1956, when some students stopped the then governor of West Pakistan Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani's car in Karachi to discuss their demands. Mr Gurmani wanted to talk with the students, but the police attacked them with batons. The students were dispersed. However, they blamed Mr Gurmani for this incident and stoned and burned his car. Mr Gurmani was escorted to

the safety of his residence with great difficulty. The arrests and sentences following this incident resulted in student politics that mirrors the system of our national politics. The violence in educational institutions has increased dramatically during the last decade. This has become so serious that the citizens are terrorized. They believe that the educational institutions, once the place for learning and spreading peace, have become the centers of riots, violence, fighting, and battles. The destruction of educational purity and the molestation of teachers in the educational institutions have reached epidemic proportion. The atmosphere of most colleges and universities is rife with student violence, protests, and restlessness. No one knows where the next incident of violence will erupt, and whose brother or son will be seen rolling in the dust and blood. The local administrations have placed some schools in the care of law enforcement agencies, but they do not have any permanent or tangible solution to this problem.

How did this situation develop? What are its causes? Why are human feelings cooling off in the youth? What are the conditions that are undermining gentleness, high character, tolerance, forbearance, and patience? At first glance, we can blame the political and social instability for this situation. The experts, however, point to other factors that have encouraged violence in the educational institutions. Some of these factors are duplicate educational systems, low educational standards, the closing of educational institutions without any warning, undue delay in finishing educational requirements, problems in getting admission, lack of respect for education, lack of employment after graduation, and most of all, violent campaigns by student organization against each other.

Almost all colleges and universities have begun to look like battle grounds, during the last 11 or 12 years. Student organizations have used weapons against each other openly. Before the 1984 restrictions on student unions, the Islami Jamiat-e Tulba [IJT] was very popular among the students, and it was very effective. All anti-Islamic forces had joined forces against this student organization, but had little success. It was the martial law government that destroyed this student organization, in order to establish its own supremacy and banned all student organizations. This ban hurt the IJT affiliated student unions most. Not only did it result in an increase in violence on campuses, but it also divided student politics among the small and non-representative student pressure groups. These groups crushed the administrations and the majority of the students. The reasons for student violence and agitation in Sindh, especially Karachi, and other states have been varied and different, however, there is one common factor. All of these organizations have been directly or indirectly involved in efforts to harm the IJT. One example of this practice is the December 1981 student union elections in Karachi University, when all of the opposition forces formed the United Student Movement [USM] to fight the IJT. The USM ran against the Jamiat again in the December 1982 student union elections, only to face another defeat. The

Muslim Student's Federation [MSF] was established when the martial law regime ended. This resulted in a new wave of violence and demonstrations in colleges and universities in Punjab and Sindh, which hurt the IJT members very badly. The MSF does not have much influence in Karachi's schools now, however, the Pakistan Student's Federation [PSF], Pakistan Muslim Organization [PMO], and Pakistan Student's Association [PSA] joined forces to fight the IJT. About 15 students lost their lives during the academic year of 1986-87. Both Dow Medical College and Sindh Medical College were involved in violence and demonstrations during that time. Meanwhile, the MSF in Punjab educational institutions began to attack IJT with the support and encouragement of the government. It tried to harm the Jamiat on various occasions. The Pakistan Muslim Student's Organization [PMSO] played a similar role in Karachi. This student organization was formed in 1978, but became very active in 1988 because of the political situation in the country, especially in Hyderabad and Karachi. A new aspect of student politics emerged at that time. They began the demeaning practices of kidnapping and physically torturing the leaders of opposing student unions, and armed attacks on the homes of students with opposing views. In summary, student violence has been increasing since 1977. According to a study, between 6 July 1977 and 21 September 1989, more than 100 students lost their lives in armed confrontations among the various student organizations, and more than 75 were killed after the 1984 ban on student organizations. Now, about 300 students have been wounded in the administration's efforts to curb student violence. The number of students wounded since the 1984 ban has surpassed 700.

The violent incidents in Sindh, especially Karachi, have been very different from those in Punjab and other states. Firearms have been used liberally at the universities here during the last 2 years. It is not surprising to find modern weapons in student union offices. It is true that the number of students involved in violence is very small, however, it does not matter how few people possess arms. They will always have the upper hand on the silent majority. Some extremist groups have also formed "shroud-wearing" kamikaze groups. They have vowed to fight until their demands are met. A university student (who lost his thumb when a revolver he was cleaning went off) said, "there is always a danger of getting our fingers burned when we play with fire." We are witnessing very horrible results of prejudiced, factional, and regional politics. The members of some student organizations are involved in robberies and kidnappings to raise funds. A small part of the loot is given to the people actually involved in these crimes. These elements can be identified by their living styles. They ride cars and their presence at "night parties" in specific college hostels is not considered a strange thing in this city. These extremist and prejudiced members of these organizations, who are regular students, have reserved special rooms in hostels which are used as

"operation headquarters." Plans for robberies and kidnappings during the last few months were carried out in the SMC [Sindh Medical College] and NED [expansion unknown] hostels. Most of the youths do not seem to be interested in developmental thinking. The majority of students living in hostels talk about sex, alcohol, movies, and immigrating to other countries. A Karachi University student, who used to write beautiful poetry during his college days, writes "obscene political sketches" now. If he is advised to be serious, he explodes, "The people only understand this language."

It is not hard to acquire modern weapons in the country, especially in Sindh. The Quetta-Karachi route is very convenient for transporting weapons. The practice to use the barter system to obtain a kalashnikov is on the increase. One can barter cars for kalashnikovs. This practice was confirmed by the findings of the CIA's [Crime Investigation Agency] recent raid in Bhanguria Goth. The increasing desire of the youth to acquire kalashnikov rifles has increased the incidence of car thefts or cars forcibly taken at gun point. It is said that stolen or forcibly taken cars are driven to some settlements around the RCD [Regional Cooperation Development] highway near Karachi where these are given to the party that supplies the agreed upon number of rifles within 3 days. The number of rifles and guns depends on the make, model, and the present condition of the car.

The extremist and prejudiced student organizations have established strict standards for membership. Their members are not allowed to resign. It has been learned that some members lost their lives or went underground in their effort to resign from these organizations. Many of them have gone abroad to save their lives from these organizations' "mafia".

We contacted educational experts, leaders of student organizations, administration representatives, parents, and students themselves for ways to curb the violence in colleges and universities in Sindh, especially in Karachi. Their input is presented below for our readers.

Prominent intellectual Professor Karar Hussain, while discussing this issue with students in Karachi University, said that there are two kinds of violence. One is for self-defense and the other is for getting benefits. There is limited opportunity for violence when the government is strong and stable, and a lot of opportunity if the government is weak. He said that the youth are attracted to violence to get what they want under a weak government. They try sycophancy first, and restore to force if it fails. He added that an analysis of the violence in these educational institutions would indicate that these are of two types—external and internal. Violence in a social structure, suffering from hunger and poverty, is the internal situation that encourages anarchy and violence. The youth, especially the students, are immediately affected.

He also said that colleges and universities are the part of a social system, unfortunately however, these are kept

separate in our country. The events in a society reach universities through the students from this society attending the universities. This results in friction there. According to Professor Karar Hussain, there are times when factors that make a society strong diminish. When the feeling of patriotism is weak, developmental plans stop, respect for people declines, men are too involved in greed, and money becomes a vehicle for respect. The people forget their religion and principles and resort to violence and dishonesty. It has been commonly noted that most of the leaders in student unions are those who are violent in nature. They should be punished and not be allowed to become leaders. He went on to say that prominent leaders in other countries address students in the universities and exchange ideas about various problems with them. That does not happen in our country. Instead, we take freedom from the students, and the magistrates in courts give them all kinds of sentences. As a result of this, all of the societies evils and problems have reached the universities, and the violence that used to be in the cities has moved to the universities. He believed that students should participate in politics because they would be serving the nation later. In Greece, any citizen who did not take part in politics was called an idiot. Stationing the Rangers in universities will not solve any problems. This is only equivalent to hiding a wound, while the real problem remains. The only solution to this problem is that all patriotic and intelligent people should force the politicians to stop using the students. They should reform the society. As long as there is violence in our society, the universities will remain infested with violence, too. The university will reform itself only after the society is cleaned.

Professor Zakaria Sajid, the director of the Press Institute of Pakistan (the national organization of journalists and other media professionals), believes that when democracy was established, it was expected that the student organization would also resort to solving problems by meditation, instead of taking the law into their own hands. However, as we have noticed during the 10 months of the present government, the incidents of violence and bloodshed have been unparalleled in our history. Our hopes of reform are gone. The recent actions of Sindh's present governor, Justice (Retired) Fukhruddin G. Ibrahim, are praiseworthy. He discussed the problem with university officials, student organizations, and people in the city. He decided not to let both campuses become centers of firing and anarchy, and stationed rangers at various points on the university campuses. This would assure that no person could enter the university without being searched and having proper permission. The situation has improved, since weapons are not permitted on the campuses, and a law agency has become a regular part of the university administration. Everyone going to the university knows this and knows that the rangers could search their cars at any time. When asked if the use of rangers was a temporary measure to establish peace in educational institutions, Professor Zakaria Sajid said that it was common knowledge that whenever there was firing in a university, the

police arrived there too late. This delay gave the culprits an opportunity to escape. He further said that, to his knowledge, the searches conducted by the military in university hostels never resulted in finding any contraband weapons or ammunition. As soon as the military or police personnel leave the campus, the weapons and ammunition reappear in the hostels, and firing starts between various groups the very next day. In light of our experience, the use of the police has yielded poor results. Therefore, even when we let these rangers go, we must make arrangements to enforce laws in universities. These institutions must have their own personnel with access to the rangers. He further said it is important, under the present circumstances, that law enforcement agencies be used on university and college campuses. The situation is artificial, however, since the violence in other parts of the state is still the same. Until the political parties and other groups in the cities and states of the nation do not realize that they must follow democratic principles honestly, and solve problems by mutual understanding, they cannot expect any stability or peace. However, we can not deny the fact that the feelings of brotherhood and unity in the nation are so strong that we will be able to easily control hate and enmity, and bring the situation to normal when we take the proper steps. We must keep in mind that there are mixed populations in other countries also, but they do not have this widespread incidence of fighting and violence that we have in Pakistan. He added that two wars fought near our country have resulted in the open and unrestricted use of kalashnikov rifles and other modern weapons in our country. Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq are our closest neighbors and we share borders with two of the countries. This increased the flow of weapons and their use in our country. The relative silence on both of these fronts is expected to decrease the acquisition and use of weapons slowly.

Professor Matiul Rehman Murtaza, chairman of Karachi University's department of communication, said that we can attribute the increasing violence in our universities to the incidents and situation around our country. He said that we could not be insulated from the effects of the Afghan and Iran-Iraq wars as well as what has been or is happening in Sri Lanka, the Maldives, and India's Punjab. The weapons race has encouraged our youth for adventure. The atmosphere has been very conducive for violent campaigns. This confusion and violence is not very different from the total mood in the area. Professor Matiul Rehman said that modern weapons are available in every home. Until serious steps are taken to take these weapons away, such disgraceful incidents will continue to happen. He added that emergencies are declared in order to curb the political unrest, however, no revolutionary step is taken to end this cancer of our society. He proposes organized raids for weapons in specific areas. He further said that we should take revolutionary steps to help the world get rid of various problems existing in the world, but we are hesitating in eradicating this fatal disease. The professor accused the government of never taking any serious action to stop the violence in the universities and colleges. He asked what would our

country do with a rocket launcher? He questioned the purpose behind the smuggling of weapons into our country. Who is bringing these weapons and why? Have the people in power ever thought about it? He suggested that a commission be set up to find the reasons for violence, and to take strict actions to curb it.

Ita Ilamhusan, a bank manager in Nazimabad, said in answer to our question about the increasing violence in educational institutions, that our youth are frustrated with the situation in and around our country. This feeling of deprivation is fanned by the regional and factional organizations. As the result of this, our youth do not listen to anyone. They are being used by regional and factional organizations for their own goals. He added sadly that he had four daughters and only one son. The son was a second years student in BA [Bachelor of Arts] (Honors) program and the only hope of his family. He was fulfilling the family's desires until he reached college, and then he changed dramatically and was lost to a factional organization. He sighed sadly and said that the situation was beyond his control. The son did not care for the family, and he, the father, did not want to use force fearing that the son might run away. He went on to tell us that he was suffering badly from this situation, however, his wife was greatly affected mentally and emotionally seeing her dreams shatter. He whispered his fears for his son's life for involvement in this factional organization. When asked for suggestions to control this situation, he answered that educational institutions should be used only for educating students, and that would be possible only by the cooperative efforts of the government, political parties, and educational administrators.

When we asked a student at the NED [expansion unknown] University (who requested that his name not be used) to express his views about this situation, he admitted that the students now were very different from the students 20 or 25 years ago. He asked us if the government and the leaders ever paid any attention to the fundamental causes of this situation. He said that this change among the youth did not come in 1 day. The youth are still interested in building their future and progress, and they know the difference between building and destruction. He said that the flow of water will always break the sides if dams are built in its way. In this situation, who would you blame for all the hurdles placed in our way? The water has to find a way to flow. Very seriously, he said that it was very difficult to gain admission into universities, and there had been no new colleges in the city for many years, while there was a gradual increase in the number of students who want higher education. Professional colleges, especially medical and engineering colleges, are very hard to get admission into, despite merit standings. After graduation, the youth have to work hard to find jobs. All this is enough to kill the desire to live. It is not surprising that this situation has caused all this violence in the educational institutions. This is our reaction to deprivation. The student agreed with us that student organizations were

fighting each other for supremacy, and they have avoided following tradition. They have just jumped at each others' throats. During the previous government, when weapons were not easily available, such situations were solved by physical beatings, but now they are being solved by unrestricted use of kalashnikov rifles. In response to our request to suggest solution to this problem, the students said that student organizations should work cooperatively and find ways to alleviate the situation for mutual interest. At the same time, the government should immediately work on short and long range plans.

Report Examines Alleged Police Brutality

46000037A Lahore VIEWPOINT
in English 5 Oct 89 pp 9-14

[Text] Police torture appears to have become a fact of life in Pakistan. Even a random look at newspapers shows almost a case a day of somebody being beaten up in police custody or succumbing to wounds received during "interrogation". VIEWPOINT in this special report takes a look at some cases of police torture and talks to the police, a lawyer, a couple of magistrates, and a psychologist. There is also a Punjabi short story that revolves round the agony of a man being questioned. The title shows one of the prison cells at Lahore Fort, which was notorious throughout the Subcontinent as a center of torture, particularly of political prisoners. The cells have been ordered to be closed, but they remain symbols of State-sanctioned oppression.

The question as to why police indulge in torture is perhaps not fully or satisfactorily answered in this special report. But some points of view are highlighted. The police claim that there has been no increase in torture cases; one reads of more cases simply because of freer reporting. A police spokesman says that policemen cannot be expected to be angels in a society that is corrupt and has become used to torture. Lawyer Hina Jilani argues that if the Judiciary were more strict and made police accountable for every case of torture brought to court, the situation would improve. Psychologist Zafar Jamal says that torture marks the defeat of dialogue and reason. The magistrates hold that official pressure on the police is one major reason for torture.

Now the Report

Not a single day goes by without newspapers carrying a report or two about ever-increasing incidents of torture inflicted upon innocent citizens by high-handed police officials. Reading these reports, one often feels that one is living in medieval times. People with no access to the corridors of power have to suffer without any check from the Legislature, the Executive, from the Magistracy and even the Press, which only tends to sensationalize such events, without any follow-ups or detailed inquiries. The general public too seems to have become sensitized to the daily gory acts of police torture and brutality.

Shaama, 80, whom we met about 10 days ago, is a typical victim of police torture. He had come to Lahore in search of justice to get his nephew released from the CIA [Crime Investigation Agency] staff, Pattoki. He was in tears as he told us how the CIA staff had made him, his brother, Ahmad Ali, 85, and his young nephew run before a tonga for miles and how later they were stripped naked and their hands tied to their ankles.

"It is actually the Halla Union Council's office, but they use it as a torture cell," Shaama said. "We were coming out of the village to a nearby field where we had found a job for seasonal farm workers. We had our cattle with us when, near the road, the thanedar arrested us. They also took our animals into their custody and ordered us to run before the tonga they were riding. If we slowed down, a cop would beat us very hard with a thick stick. This went on till we reached the Hallah Union Council office where they undressed me, Ahmad Ali and my nephew, tying our wrists with out ankles. Then we were ordered to run in circles along the boundary of the office ground. After humiliating and torturing us in this way, they beat us for a couple of days without assigning any charges.

Through Payment

"Finally, when we repeatedly asked about our fault, the police officials said we had lifted cattle and that there was only one way of ending the trouble and torture, and that was through payment of Rs 10,000. While searching our clothes, they had already taken away silver rings and a Rs 100 note, and we had nothing to pay any more. Still we assured them that we could arrange the bribe if they released us. Keeping our nephew as hostage, they released us to collect the ransom money.

"For my nephew's release, I appealed before a local magistrate, who ordered recovery of Barkat who had been tortured beyond description. His lips were swollen and his entire body was full of scars. They kept him as hostage without allowing him a medical examination, despite court orders. The policemen have also not released our cattle, and we cannot even take a job as farm workers because until some institution protects us, we are not very far from their clutches."

Shaama paused, then said: "Can a lawyer or some journalist help us? We don't know anybody here in the big city." He feels that if his nephew is released and the cattle returned, it would not compensate for the humiliation undergone by him and his family before his people.

Muhammad Iqbal, of the same area, is another victim of police torture—with a slight variation in his case. He was not arrested without a complaint. The local landlord was his old rival—not the jealousy of equals but a question of ensuring absolute authority over the area.

Iqbal would often ignore the landlord's dictates and walk around with his head held high. The landlord decided to punish him and last April the police arrested Iqbal on a charge of dacoity. Police officers tortured him for 18

days without respite, but when he did not confess to a crime he had never committed and even the people of the house where the dacoity had taken place declared on oath that Iqbal was not the man, the police acquitted him of the dacoity charge. He was not allowed even a medical test. However, asked by the landlord, they immediately arrested him on a charge of theft. He underwent a renewed session of torture for another 14 days, until he was again found to be innocent.

Iqbal was set free recently. There is said to be no record of his being in police custody at any time, anywhere; his tormented body is the only proof. His soul is scarred through and through. When will he be able to walk with his head held high again?

It is not always lack of money to pay bribes or the influence of powerful people which leads people to suffer harassment. Sometimes it is just the callousness and inefficiency of the police that lead to suffering.

Missing Daughter

Idrees is a resident of Phatuwalla. He has a daughter, Rubina Kausar, who was missing for three months. He searched far and wide, but found no trace of the young woman. One day a deformed corpse was found near the Government tubewell in the area. The body evidently belonged to a young woman and the police, taking it for granted that it was Rubina's body, raided the house of Idrees in the dark of the night and arrested not only him but also his son Ameer Ali and three other relatives on the charge of murder.

The others were released later, but Idrees and Ameer remained in police custody for 11 days, during which the two "accused" were beaten so badly that Idrees lost two of his teeth. No physical examination of the two was sought, and the police finally made them "confess" to the crime by "exposing" the father and son to each other.

The father, seeing no end to the police to the police ruthlessness, "confessed" that he had murdered his daughter. The police were not satisfied with this: they also demanded Rs 16,000 to set the old man free.

The family of Idrees was wondering over this issue when a young man informed the police that Rubina Kausar was not only alive but was living happily with her lover, the imam of the village mosque, who had eloped with the girl. The informant, a brother-in-law of the imam, had sensed from his relative's mysterious activities that he was deceiving his wife and he traced him to a secret residence where Rubina was living. Obviously the body found near the tubewell was someone else's.

Idrees, having suffered torture and humiliation before his entire 'biradari', was about to kill his daughter, but she was saved and later married to someone in Lahore.

While the rural poor are the easiest prey, the urban poor can also suffer grievously when caught by the police.

Even relatives of an accused person are not spared if the police fail to apprehend the person concerned.

Not very long ago, mysterious, swollen bodies with marks of beating and wounds surfaced in the Lahore Canal. These bodies were later sent to the mortuary of the Mayo Hospital from where the KEMC administration obtained them for dissection purposes.

Journalists are sure that the bodies were of people who had been beaten up by the police. The bodies were then thrown into the Canal to prevent detection. Usually, it is said, officials of one police station do not dispose of bodies of their victims in their own area, so that, if the bodies are discovered in another area, the police officers of the latter area can always truthfully claim, even in court, that they had no idea of what happened.

Police encounters are another link in the same chain. The case of Asghar is still fresh in many people's memory. He had killed a police officer who had illegally entered his house. After the deed, he had voluntarily presented himself before the DIG. He was later killed in a so-called police encounter.

Similarly a 17-year-old student of the MAO College, Rana Zia, was killed in the Ravi National Park "during a police encounter". The DSP [Deputy Superintendent of Police] accused in the case is out on bail.

The killing of three traders in Lahore last month at Australia Chowk is another example of the unchecked lethal violence indulged in by the police. The traders' crime was that they did not stop their car when ordered by to do so.

The murder of a 17-year-old boy, Imtiaz, in Sargodha near the Race Course Park too has not been properly probed into and the accused policemen are free.

The Punjab police are specially notorious for such criminal actions. Recently, an anti-torture cell was created to check torture of innocent citizens. The cell has been given the task of looking into the "investigation process", inquire into the causes of torture, and pinpointing the police officials involved. Formed some three months ago, the cell has so far probed only some half-a-dozen cases and at times it has also taken actions against the culprits. But the punishment has never exceeded suspension or transfer.

What is important to note is that several Station House Officers (SHO) are believed to have secret torture houses of their own, a little away from the police station. This not only helps the SHOs to evade the law but also makes sure that bailiffs sent by a court to recover people go back empty-handed. If a victim of torture dies, the disposal of the body is also easier from a place other than a police station.

Following restoration of democracy in the country, the Punjab Government announced that it had abolished torture cells at Choona Mandi and Lahore Fort (used in any case mostly for political prisoners). But hardly any

organization has taken note of the SHOs' private torture cells. Some are situated in basements of police stations about which hardly anyone knows. The names of Mirsi Shah and Qila Gujar Singh police stations are often mentioned in this connection. It is said that two torture cells are also functioning at Thokar Niaz Baig and Race Course Road to serve the entire provincial police department. There are men trained as torturers whose services are available to all policemen who want confessions from accused persons.

An informed source told VIEWPOINT that usually the worst torture methods are employed before the remand of an accused is obtained, because if a person is seriously hurt or dies in the course of interrogation after his name has come on the record of a court, the policemen concerned could be in trouble. A person with no court record is easy to brow-beat.

But policemen do not always consider it necessary to take a person to a police station to be beaten up. A fish-seller of Ichhra was recently belabored so severely that his eardrums ruptured. His sin was that he had asked some policemen to pay for the fish they had taken from his shop.

Many reasons can be offered for this brutal attitude. VIEWPOINT talked to an SHO and asked him why the police indulged in torture. Seeking anonymity, the SHO said the Punjab police were expected to behave like the English Bobby when they were paid a ridiculously low salary. "A constable is equal to a Grade-2 scavenger and an SHO is given Grade 11 or 14, while the Bobby in Britain gets a salary equivalent to that of a professor. Then we have to work for unlimited hours, far from our families. The high officers' continuous pressure creates such a strain on the ordinary policeman that one can hardly expect him to behave sanely.

"The SHOs are in a double fix. On the one hand, they have to maintain the prestige of their position and go without asking for a free cup of tea or other such facilities. With their paltry salary, they are forced to think of other ways to extract money, and even then most live a sub-human life."

The SHO further said there were a few well-educated people in the force, but even these officers gradually became a part of the whole by giving up one good habit after another.

Replying to a question, he said he could not conceive of an end to illegal practices until the entire society was reformed. "It is considered a point of prestige not to confess to guilt whereas high officers (of the police department) often urge a complete inquiry within 24 hours. Tell me how is that possible when influential people keep of interfering and the culprits take pride in always hiding their guilt?"

Police Version

As a result of the recent changes in the top brass of the Punjab police, the Inspector-General and senior officials could not be contacted for comment, but a spokesman of the Police Department, the Director of Public Relations, agreed to give an interview to VIEWPOINT to explain the Department's position. He said: "We have a high rate of detection which is above 86 per cent. But don't expect us to be angels from the blue when the whole society has gone corrupt, and become used to torture." The spokesman said that third-degree methods had become a style of working, and added: "Our department was established during the British period on the basis of the Police Act, 1861, which borrowed much from the Irish Police Act drafted to control an illiterate, rebellious and mostly lawless people. The department still works on the same pattern.

"Another big problem is that well-educated people don't take up this profession because salaries are very low. They go for skill-learning and office jobs which, if not earning them a lot, save them from working for long, irregular hours".

Replying to a question, the spokesman said there was a definite increase in the number of Press reports on incidents of police torture, but this did not mean that such incidents had actually increased; rather, the Press "now feels more free to write about such things following restoration of democracy".

"It is not our job to cleanse or reform society", the spokesman pointed out. "Our task is to arrest culprits, investigate a case and produce the accused with out findings before the court." He also complained that parents go on producing children without thinking about the ways to educate and train them so that they may not become criminals. There is one police official for 1,000 people, and it is very hard to meet the task of checking crime with so many pressures."—Shadab Ahmed, Shafiq & Shams.

Legal Position

What is the legal position with regard to police torture? VIEWPOINT put the question to Hina Jilani, a local advocate, human rights activist and law lecturer, in her office last week.

She said: "The police can extract a confession only by asking questions. As far as the law is concerned, they cannot lay a finger on anyone in their custody.

"The irony is that physical torture in police custody has become so much a part of our life that we have lost sensitivity to this issue. The most unfortunate part of this is that now many even in the Judiciary have become totally insensitive to police torture. We know it, the judges know it, and all those with a little bit of familiarity with the law know that police can't resort to physical torture. But no one is willing to do anything about it. The ordinary people and most of those who are made subject

to torture do not know that the police have no right to use physical violence on them. On the contrary, they believe that a physical remand means that the police can use third-degree methods, including physical torture, to extract information. The other day, when I told one of my class of para-legals, that under no circumstances can a person in police custody be beaten, one of my students asked whether physical remand didn't mean that the police had control on an individual's body and could torture the person to extract information. I believe this is the prevalent view. In fact physical remand is given for the protection of a person".

Why?

Hina Jilani then asked, "Why is an accused produced before a magistrate?" and replied: "Simply to ensure that the police do not misuse their custody, and it is the responsibility of the court to vouchsafe the well-being of the person whose physical custody it has given to the police."

Pointing out the reason for this attitude of the police, Hina Jilani said: "In our country, the subordinate Judiciary, which includes magistrates and Session Judges, has lost sight of the fact that remand is a very serious trust that has been placed in their hands. Ironically, in our judicial practices it has become a routine. Another important thing while granting remands is that it has to be granted in the presence of the accused. The requirement is that a magistrate must physically see the person before granting physical or judicial remand. But here the police appear with the papers of a person or persons before a magistrate, and the remand is granted. What it shows is that the police have no respect for the obligations imposed by law, and the magistrates are indifferent to the sanctity of their jobs. The police do not bother even to bring the accused to the court. At times, the accused are kept just outside a court in fetters and chains, to hide their physical condition. We have brought this matter to the knowledge of the Chief Justice of the High Court. We hope that the honorable court will take appropriate action on this. Such an action has become more important in view of the large-scale torture that has been reported recently."

Elaborating the constitutional position on torture, the lawyer said: "As far as the law is concerned, the Constitution says that the dignity of human beings is inviolable and that there shall be no torture for the purposes of extracting a confession. There is no law either that empowers the police to torture a person."

How does the law define torture?, VIEWPOINT asked.

"There is no definition of torture. This is one big problem. There is a UN document against torture, laying out conventions to check both physical and psychological torture. Pakistan is not signing it. But in our country, the problem is not simply one definition of torture. It is a matter of blatantly beating up human beings to the extent that people can be killed. It is not a question of what constitutes torture or the degree of torture.

"The police have their own limitations. They are not trained properly. Their investigative ability is weak. So they resort to physical torture."

But it is just lack of training or that there is no respect for the life of ordinary people in our society?

"The very fact that they resort to torture shows that there is no respect for human life and human dignity in this country. The police are the symbol of this general disrespect. This is an unfortunate aspect of daily life that most of the Third World countries have to face along with poverty, malnutrition and disease. Poverty is the worst form of violation of human rights, and poverty gives rise to this lack of respect for human rights and human dignity. But in some of the Third World countries consciousness is growing about the excesses of the law-enforcing agencies."

Elaborating the UN Convention on torture, Hina Jilani said: "The South American dictatorial regimes and some countries of South Asia have refused to sign the convention on the grounds that the Western countries possess sophisticated methods of interrogation which we do not". She laughed, and added: "They want to improve the techniques of torture. They do not want to abandon it."

Question: Is there legal redress against physical torture in police custody?

"Normally, we bring the matter to the notice of the superior courts. But unfortunately, as I told you earlier about the insensibility of the subordinate courts, in most of the cases the superior courts too exhibit the same sort of insensitivity. But there are judges who have taken action against police torture on our complaints, particularly in cases where custodial rape has been committed on women. But, generally, if you visit the High Courts, out of the 50 cases that are dealt with every day, at least 30 are related to police harassment, illegal confinement or torture in police custody. I can tell you of a case. I was present in a court when a person was dragged in by the police with obvious signs of having been badly beaten. When the attention of the court was drawn to the condition of the person, the judge said what could he do; the police do this every day. This is an example of a particular attitude with which police torture would not only not be checked, but will actually be encouraged.

The only recourse that we have is to bring such instances to the knowledge of the higher courts. If the courts are insensitive, then we have no other remedy. If we try to report police excesses to some senior police official, he usually comes out in defence of his force. If the police officer is sympathetic, the maximum that he will do is to transfer the custody of the person concerned but he will not take action against those responsible for torture.

Did Hina Jilani think that it was possible within the system to put some checks on this?

"No chance", she said vehemently. "Let us suppose for a while that in cities, with some supervision, we may be able to put some check on it. But what about the rural areas where the police rule supreme? How many of our superintendents of police take the trouble of leaving their offices and make rounds of the areas under their administration? The attitude is that of the colonial rulers, i.e., to suppress the natives. If the subordinate staff is doing that effectively, why should the officers be bothered? This colonial attitude has to go first. Then we could start thinking of reforms."

Did she think all cases of torture were reported?

"No. The number of cases that are reported is very small. Most of those reported, I must say, have come to the surface by the efforts of the Press. The role of the Press in this respect is commendable. They have brought to light torture not only in police custody but also in prisons. Our politicians can't do anything. They use the police for their own purposes. Senior officials, to please those known to them, use the *thana* for extra-legal work. How can they check anything?"

So, whom did the lawyer hold ultimately responsible for torture?

Responsibility

"Ultimately, of course, the person who commits the action is responsible because it is a criminal offence. Then attempts to cover the offence are done by the higher officials of the police. There has developed two different practices of the law for the same offence committed by the police and an ordinary citizen. If I break someone's leg, I will be tried under the law and punished with imprisonment and fines. But if the police do it, one or two officials will either be transferred or suspended. The other day, we were talking to the Inspector-General of prisons who, in reply to our question on the subject, said that in cases of torture, he could try police staff only under the Police Act, which is nonsense. The Police Act does not allow police to commit criminal offenses. I tell you people have lost faith in our police. The other day, a woman came to me to seek some help against some people in the vicinity of her residence who had beaten her up. When I asked her to report the matter to the police, she replied: The last time I went with a complaint, I was raped".

Hina Jilani stopped and suggested there had to be popular reaction against all this if we wanted to improve our police force—and greater political will also.—Zafaryab Ahmed.

Magistracy's View

The Magistracy's point of view seems to be that it can exercise better check on matters like police torture if the Judiciary were separated from the Executive.

For instance, the Assistant Commissioner, Ferozewala, Mr Ahmad Sukheira, says that in the present circumstances, the police feel free because there was no agency to check transgressions of the law committed by police officials. "it is always a police official who will be deputed to probe into crimes committed by his departmental colleagues," he pointed out.

Mr Sukheira said that the police department was an agency which had been made to assert its authority, and all evils emanated from this single and basic attitude. Many of the incidents of police torture took place at the behest of politicians who never felt shy in using the department for their own purposes. And if the police beat up a person at the behest of an influential figure, they think this gives them a *carte blanche* to bash up a few people on their own.

"If police torture is to be checked," Mr Sukheira said, "you will first have to check the politicians." He suggested that the annual confidential report of an SHO must be prepared by a magistrate, a DSP's by the Assistant Commissioner, and the SP's by the Deputy Commissioner of the area.

But Mr Sukheira also said there was often no way to make a culprit admit his guilt except third-degree methods. "Urging an accused in a civilized language will produce no results and that's what our experience tell us," he asserted, adding that a person who opposed torture when he was a victim, advocated it when he became an aggrieved in a criminal case.

Mr Sukheira also said that a magistrate had to cooperate with the police when they required a physical remand because every magistrate had to depend upon police officials to maintain law and order in his *'ilaqa'*. No magistrate was ever demoted or transferred for not speedily finalizing judicial cases; it was always his failure to maintain law and order which invited departmental action.

Mr Sukheira denied that magistrates gave remands in the absence of an accused person.

Another magistrate, seeking anonymity, said he himself was too scared to talk about the Police Department and the involvement of police officials in cases of torture inside and outside police stations. Referring to a case in India recently, he said even a magistrate could be beaten up by the police.

He said torture was inflicted only upon those who had no money to offer handsome bribes or who had no connection with powerful people. He said the present situation was a result of the unchecked powers which a policeman enjoyed and "one can only pray that the present excesses will end—but they will end only with a change in the entire system."

A local councillor who was present during the latter interview said torture had become a common practice. it

must be confined to stubborn and professional criminals, because it was necessary in such cases. It was necessity which compelled a police official to commit torture since there was no other means available to make criminals confess. The magistrates, he said, were also a part of the same system.—Shams.

Psychological Impact

Torture has always been held in abhorrence and has never met with popular approval. But it continues. It is a negative means of asserting authority or subduing the so-called deviants. Scientific observations prove that torture has done more harm to all those involved in the act than any good.

This is the belief of Zafar Jamal, a young psychologist whom VIEWPOINT contacted to discuss the psychological effects of torture.

Jamal said: "Physical torture does not inflict only bodily injury on a person. Beside hurting the victim, it affects his entire psychological makeup. There appears a profound change in the victim's overall behavior, both towards himself and society at large.

"In certain cases, where a person is a little sensitive, it can lead to neurotic disorders. And that is not all. In societies like ours, it legitimizes the authority of the repressive apparatus of the State. Violence becomes a norm.

"Why do you think every second day students resort to the use of firearms? Simply, to execute their will and assert the authority of their own faction or group. They believe that violence is the ultimate ethic. The situation is paradoxical because this also erodes the sanctity of the institution of State. It also shows a lack of faith in the law. The whole mess is all linked. You cannot isolate the two. Violence in a police station has its reverberations outside the walls of the thana. It does not only strengthen the power of the State. It brutalizes society in general. It perpetuates the structure of social relations based on violence. In certain cases the victim develops aggression and self pity at the same time. He is revengeful. He wants to do to other what has been done to him."

At another level, Zafar Jamal said, torture marks a defeat of dialogue and reason both. In most cases the tortured lets his aggression loose on the nearest and the immediate target, in most cases is his own family.

"It ruins family life. It affects familial ties. The respect based on love for paternal authority is gone. The effect that this has on the psyche of the children is negative. They are made to pay for crimes which they didn't even commit. They are robbed of their initiative. They live with a stigma.

"The whole system of police functioning is bad. The way they raid the house of the accused, the way they arrive, the way they treat the accused's family members, the language they use."

Jamal added: "It is difficult to draw a line—where does torture begin or end? The entire approach is flawed."

Report Describes G.M. Syed's Arrest

90010018A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT
in Urdu 14 Oct 89 pp 10, 11

['Karachi Diary' by Yusuf Khan entitled: "The Final Curtain Is Rung Down on G. M. Syed's Escape: Accusation Leveled That Jiye Sindh Was Supplied With Money"]

[Text] On the nights of 10 and 11 October, when the Punjab police handed over G. M. Syed, the 89-year-old bearer for Sindhu Desh, to the Sindh police, the curtain fell on the 36 hour drama of his flight, which began with the Sindhi radical politician's refusal to comply with the order of his house arrest. An aide in Bilawal House informed Benazir Bhutto that the military police had arrested the fugitive patriot near Dera Ghazi Khan. She heaved a sigh of relief. Finally, the government's action against G. M. Syed had succeeded. The radical politician began his campaign of rebellion in Sindh by insulting the national flag at Sukkur airport. For this action, an order was issued for his house arrest for a period of 30 days in San (Dawood), under the ordinance for the preservation of public order. When the police and administration officials arrived at Kashmoor rest house to serve the order, G. M. Syed told them that he was ready to go but needed to change his clothes. While the officials waited for him to come out, they saw a jeep speeding away in a cloud of dust. The Sindh politician had decided to flee. Commenting on the incident, Benazir Bhutto told her close advisors that they had regarded G. M. Syed as an old man, but he had proved he was young at least in his flight. The Jacobabad deputy commissioner and the superintendent of police were suspended for negligence in preventing the escape. In Mohammed Khan Junejo's term of office, the deputy commissioner of Dawood was suspended for failing to arrest G. M. Syed. A Muslim League politician remarked that the house arrest of G. M. Syed, the founder of the Jiye Sindh movement, would only temporarily pour water on the fire he had tried to start in Sindh. The Pakistan People's Party's [PPP] federal and provincial governments would have to take stringent measures to douse the glowing embers of separatism in Sindh. Addressing the hastily summoned forty members of the Sindh assembly, Benazir Bhutto said that the Sindhu Desh movement enjoyed the support of Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad [IJI], and that Nawaz Sharif was providing the money for the movement. She added that, after failing to break the Muhajir Qaumi Movement [MQM], IJI had tamed Jiye Sindh and the Sindh National Alliance [SNA]. The objective of this so-called movement was to bring down the PPP's democratic government. It was a conspiracy against democratic action. The fact is that certain Sindh-connected IJI leaders, including Jatoti, made statements in this connection which in some way implied support for G. M. Syed's behavior. Mr Akhtar 'Ali Qazi, the Sindh Muslim League's president, said that Sindhu Desh's separation is

not part of G. M. Syed's program. He said that, on the one hand, the PPP was saying that it did not have a presence in Sindh and was ineffective there and, on the other hand, it was accusing IJI of complicity in creating a serious situation in Sindh. This is a confession of defeat by the PPP. During its 10 months of office, the PPP has had to face the accusation that it was secretly in league with the supporters of Sindhu Desh. Hence, when the government decided to take action against G. M. Syed, it was applauded by patriotic Sindhis, although some shortsighted individuals had maintained a diplomatic silence. The incident at Sukkur airport, in which the national flag was insulted and slogans of "Tear apart Pakistan" were shouted, had encouraged the radicals. When, after 20 years, G. M. Syed went on a tour of Sindh, he fanned the flames of prejudice and hatred wherever he went. Some of his supporters maintain that what G. M. Syed is saying is not new. Nevertheless, his present campaign is creating an explosive situation in Sindh. If Benazir Bhutto's government had remained a silent spectator, it would have placed its own authority in danger. When G. M. Syed fled from Sindh to Rajanpur, a frontier district of Punjab, Akbar Bagti, an opponent of the PPP, announced that G. M. Syed would be welcome in Baluchistan.

The military police played an important role in foiling the attempt by G. M. Syed and his entourage of 30 individuals to cross over into Baluchistan. According to an advisor to Sindh's chief minister, two members of G. M. Syed's entourage were criminals involved in armed robbery. It is ironic that G. M. Syed's driver, who wanted to break up the country, was Mir Haidar Talpur, the son of the patriotic politician, Ali Ahmad Talpur. What action will the PPP administration take against the founder of Jiye Sindh? A case has been filed in Sukkur against 11 leaders of the SNA, including G. M. Syed, for making speeches inimical to the country. Under sections 153 (incitement), 12471 (insurrection), 147, 148, 149 (rioting, assault, attack), cases have been filed against G. M. Syed, Gul Mohammad Jakhrani, Ghulam Haidar Talpur, Murad Shah, Yusuf Jakhrani, Ghulam Abbas, Bhumbaroo, Dr Hamida Khoro, Sher Jamal, and others. The fact is that in view of the stormy reaction throughout the country to the Sukkur incident, failure by the government to take any action could have proven damaging to it. Dr Hamida Khoro, the founder of Sindh Qaumi Ittehad, who, during Zia's rule, was regarded as the advocate for the Sindh's case, defended herself by blaming the PPP for the insult to the national flag and called it a conspiracy in which the PPP was fully involved. The PPP leadership's reaction to G. M. Syed's activities and the accusation leveled in this connection against IJI shows that the temporary war between the country's two large political forces has ended, which should intensify the struggle between Islamabad and Lahore. Efforts by each to topple the other will start all over again. This should prove advantageous, both directly and indirectly, to the enemies of democracy and the radicals. A politician said in Karachi that Sindhi patriots died politically in November 1988. Candidates

seeking election on the SNA platform were badly defeated. But less than 1 year later, G. M. Syed has become an issue between the PPP and IJI. It appears that by their personal warfare, the leaders of the two parties will breathe new life into Jiye Sindh, and this will be Sindh's and Pakistan's tragedy.

Press Protection Sought Against Partisan Raids

*46000037B Lahore VIEWPOINT
in English 26 Oct 89 p 6*

[Text] Certainly not for the first time, during the last week at least two newspaper offices have been raided, their furniture and equipment smashed, and senior members of the staff manhandled, in a most uncivilized protest against what a particular newspaper had written—or not written—about the party or group favored by the protesters. Even if certain newspapers are sometimes considered to be unfair and provocative, in that their reports or comments are seen to be lies or libellous, those offended must realize that they do not help—but harm—their cause by resorting to street hooliganism. They would obviously be far better advised to seek redress through legal means or expose the newspaper found offensive in various other ways. The use of force—in this or any other matter—settles no argument and cannot prove the rights or wrongs of any issue in dispute. It merely adds to the prevailing tensions and confusion.

All political parties should, therefore, enforce strict discipline in their ranks and make certain that no hotheads are allowed to collect or hire mobs ready to ransack newspaper offices. These raids are all the more deplorable when they are carried out on behalf of a party or organization that adheres to democratic principles and believes in Press freedom. This most essential part of our freedom will ever remain precarious of newspaper offices are not conceded due sanctity and are not fully protected by common agreement. We hope the APNS request for police protection for newspaper offices will not need to be acted upon, and that the force of public opinion will persuade political parties to abide by a code of conduct which operates in large parts of the world. It needs to be realized by all concerned that this is not just a question of any one newspaper or the party it may support or oppose. The issue is much bigger and concerns the future of democracy in this country. Therefore, it must be treated as a national issue and not a partisan quarrel between political factions or newspaper empires.

Commentary Views Role of Sindh-Based Parties

90010011A Karachi AMN in Urdu 19 Sep 89 p 3

[Article by Jumma Khan: "The Roles of Sindh Qaumi Ittehad, the Sindh National Front, and Sindhi Ittehad"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Now, there are three political parties whose politics are based on Sindh alone, and who enjoy some influence within Sindh. Some time ago, a number of small parties joined together to form Sindh

Qaumi Ittehad. Later, the Sindh National Front was created, and now a party calling itself Sindhi Ittehad has been formed.

The leader of Sindh Qaumi Ittehad is Abdul Hamid Jatui. The leader of the Sindh National Front is Mumtaz Bhutto, and Rasool Baksh Palejo leads Sindhi Ittehad. They were all connected with Sindh Qaumi Ittehad at one time, but owing to differences over certain political principles, different parties were formed.

A single party would have been best, but the ideological differences could not be solved. All three parties have similar objectives, but their methods of achieving these goals are different. Nevertheless, political cooperation is possible among them, since confrontation would be harmful to all three parties. Rivalry among them, especially during elections, would damage all of them seriously.

Some of the large Sindhi parties, which joined together to form Sindh Qaumi Ittehad, have been accused of wanting to separate Sindh from Pakistan and establishing a free and independent country called Sindhu Desh. The leaders of these parties have acknowledged that they tried to form Sindhu Desh and sought the help of foreign countries in their endeavor, but received no encouragement.

Certain member parties of Sindh Qaumi Ittehad have been accused of radicalism and armed terrorism, and some party members were brought to trial and sentenced.

But all of these events occurred in the past.

The present is the era of democracy.

The three Sindh parties mentioned above have selected new office holders, but the role played by any of the leaders or the parties before the selection is another matter. It remains to be seen whether, under the present new conditions, the new high command of officers will strive to achieve its objectives in accordance with the laws and the constitution or whether the politics of rioting will manifest itself.

The leaders of Sindh Qaumi Ittehad, the Sindh National Front, and Sindhi Ittehad participated in last year's elections, but not a single one of them was elected. All of them were defeated by candidates of the Pakistan People's Party [PPP], which is the largest political party with a firm belief in federation. It has never called for Sindhu Desh, nor does it believe in provincial prejudice. It wants a common national objective. This situation shows that all political parties, which have influence within Sindh, are very weak compared to the PPP, which, after coming into office, has served the people of Sindh in every possible way and is paying full attention to solving their problems.

The political parties and leaders who were defeated in the elections claim that the popularity of the PPP is waning, but the PPP is satisfied with its own performance, and its considered opinion is that as long as the regional parties, which promote provincial politics, remain divided, they cannot harm the PPP. Impartial political observers are also of the view that a single regional party could have challenged the PPP; but Sindh's politicians are divided into three groups. At any rate, the future will show to what extent and in what manner these three parties will influence the law and order situation, and what role they will play in ending the tension spread by provincial prejudice.

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

2 January 1990